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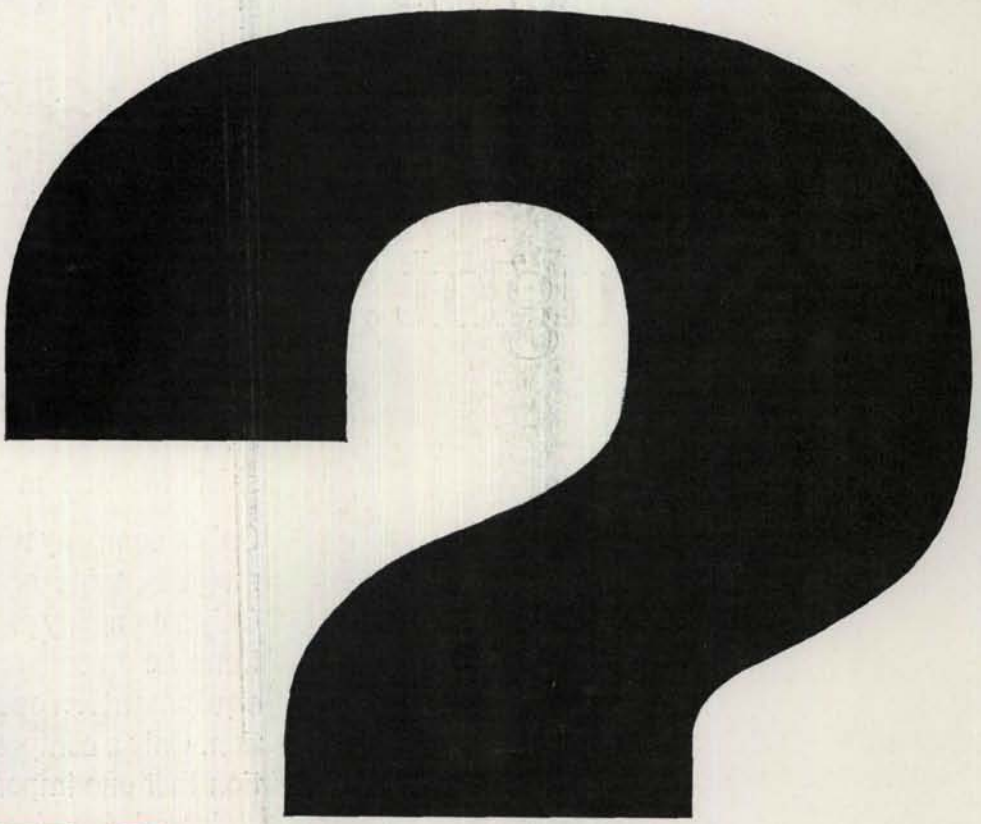
JUNE 2, 1964

REPORTS ON CALIFORNIA:
Can Rocky Stop Goldwater?

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion



Who Killed DIEM? WHY

V. L. BORIN

Also In This Issue:

BURNHAM ON GEORGE KENNAN'S DREAM WORLD ♦ BUCKLEY ON THE REGAL WAYS OF LBJ ♦ HART ON HEMINGWAY; WILLS ON BURTON, AND RUSSELL KIRK ON THE CAMPUS CONSERVATIVE JOURNALS

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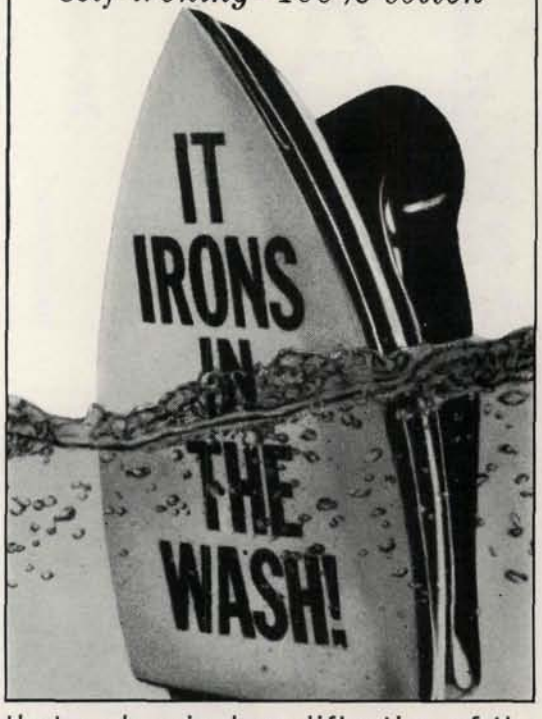

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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ we publish an account of the period leading to the destruction of the Diem regime. As the situation deteriorates in South Vietnam the question inevitably will be asked, how shall we look on the sabotage of the Diem government by the Government of the United States? We have seen no statement as lucid as that of the journalist **V. L. Borin**, born a Czech, a former Communist who fled his country in the '30s and went to live in Australia, whence he observed the happening of 1963 in South Vietnam. Mr. Borin is back in Central Europe, and we expect to be hearing from him again soon. . . . **"John Caravan"** is a California journalist who gives us some concrete information about the Goldwater-Rockefeller race there, how it progresses, and what is a reasonable prognosis.

➔ And **Frank S. Meyer** writes the first of a projected pair of columns on the meaning of the Goldwater drive, and the necessity for toughness and spirit during the final stretch. . . . **James Burnham** examines the fresh tract of George Kennan, who rejoices at the relaxation of tensions between ourselves and the Soviet Union, which relaxation, he warned the world stiffly in 1957, would not occur unless we followed his recommendations for disengagement, which recommendations we did not follow, resulting in that relaxation which he heralds in this book, in which he gives us his advice for the next period; if you see what we mean. . . . **Russell Kirk** lists the major conservative student journals now being published, and characterizes a few of them: and heralds the increased articulateness of young conservatives. . . . And **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** twits President Johnson.

➔ Professor **Jeffrey Hart** of Dartmouth College greets with considerable enthusiasm the posthumously stitched-together volume, Hemingway-on-Paris. Hemingway was even then—in the twenties—caught between Huck Finn and the Widow Douglas, Mr. Hart observes; and he almost fought his way clear, but didn't. . . . The Rev. **Harold Brown** is a Congregationalist minister and teaching fellow at Harvard. He writes about the volume of the Bishop of Woolwich, *Honest to God*, wherein the bishop assures his flock, which turns out to include rather a lot of people who live as far away from Woolwich as Cambridge, Mass., that it isn't really necessary to take God seriously in order to be a Christian; indeed, maybe it even helps, if one would be god-like, not to be Christ-like. . . . Professor **Louis Spadaro** of Fordham University is grateful to Dr. Murray Rothbard for his new history of the Depression and its causes, and for his dissipation of the myth that the Depression was brought about by free enterprise run riot. . . . And (a professors' sweep) Professor **Garry Wills** brilliantly identifies the failings of Burton-Gielgud's *Hamlet*. Mr. Wills' much anticipated book, *Politics and Catholic Freedom*, has been postponed, and will not be available until late June. Mr. **Murray Kempton** will be reviewing it for *NR*. *NR* for NATIONAL REVIEW, that is. ➔

FLASH! ! THE DUKE OF MECOSTA TO WED!
Mrs. Russell Kirk, Conservative Writer Reveals,
'Will Wear My Emerald Ring, to Match Her Eyes'

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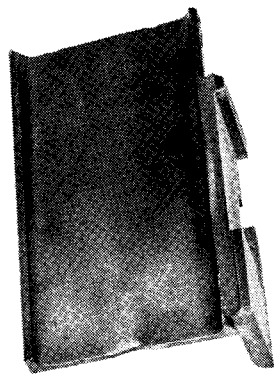

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To the Editor

Rarefaction

Please pass on to Art Director Jim O'Bryan that with the May 19 cover he has really scaled the heights.

New York, N.Y. W. H. VON DREELE

Mass Usage

I have always had very high regard for your use of the English language in editorial comment. In fact, your disdain of the ungrammatical (and downright erroneous) evidences itself in your frequent use of "(sic)". As a reader, I appreciate your watchdog activities in flagging errors in material that you quote, even when the application appears pedantic or else done to ridicule. It was, therefore, with considerable alarm that I read the Bobby Baker paragraph in "The Week" [p. 388, May 19] and beheld, "But it's easy, real (sic) easy to smile. . . ." Since when is *real* an adverb? Or do you believe with the Liberals that English is whatever the masses choose to make it?

Endwell, N.Y. THOMAS B. HORGAN

The masses plus Mark Twain —ED.

"Tungku" (sic)

In *NR*, May 19 issue, I used the spelling "Tungku" for the title (roughly, "prince") of Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaysia. "Tunku" seems to be more generally accepted, and preferable.

Kent, Conn. JAMES BURNHAM

Un-Lutheran

The otherwise brilliant analysis in Kuehnelt-Leddihn's May 19 column ["The Problem of the Christian Social Sentimentalist"] is marred by two serious errors.

In the first place, Luther never condemned "sanctification by good works." And even his condemnation of justification by good works needs to be understood in its polemical context. Luther's concern was to assert that man is both justified and sanctified by the grace of God. However, at the same time he made it crystal clear that both faith and works are gifts from God, and are necessary for salvation. Faith with-

(Continued on p. 461)

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6. Every four months members will be offered a Club Omnibus Volume containing *up to four complete books in one.* If you bought these books separately they would cost $12.00 to $18.00, yet members may buy them for $4.95! (These Omnibus Volumes will *not* be sold anywhere else; only CBC members are eligible to buy them.)

The Idea Behind the Club

You know how troublesome it is to get to a bookstore—and, when there, how hard to find a good selection of *conservative* books. CBC solves this problem for you—and at great savings.

The Club has another, larger function. The average publisher is unaware of the sizable market for conservative books; hence he hesitates to publish them. The Club will be *visible proof* that a lively market *does* exist, and enterprising publishers will hasten to provide for it. This, in turn, will add enormously to the momentum of the conservative movement.

In short, CBC *must* have a tonic effect on conservative publishing—and therefore on the spread of conservative influence in politics and education, among businessmen, the clergy and other opinion leaders.

What Sort of Books Will the Club Offer?

CBC will cover the whole range of conservative books. You will choose from books on politics, Communism, economics, social problems, the Cold War. You will also be offered absorbing novels and biographies . . . humor . . . classics of conservative thought . . . history . . . books on education and religion (those that will interest members of all faiths)—in brief, *any* book that is likely to appeal to an intelligent conservative.

The Club will of course bring you new books as they appear. But we plan also to offer the cream of the older titles. Some members may have missed them; others may not have been interested in conservative books when these titles first appeared.

A brief list of upcoming Club Selections appears below. As you can see, some Selections will lean toward the heavy side while others will be fast, journalistic reporting. But light or heavy, the Club aims to make available just about every notable conservative book at a big saving; you take only those that appeal to you.

How the Club Works

Each month you receive the Club's Bulletin, which reports on the next Club Selection and brings you other interesting news. The Bulletin will also recommend other books of merit—all offered at discount.

If you decide to accept the Selection, you need do nothing; it will arrive automatically about one month later. If you decide to reject the Selection (or if you wish to order other recommended Club books), you can do so in a few seconds on the handy form always provided. You will *never* be offered a Selection the Club does not stand behind. The CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB is too important to the conservative cause for us ever to recommend an inferior book. When a Selection seems likely to appeal to some members but not others, we will mention that in the Bulletin.

To join, use the coupon on this page. You join without charge or obligation. You need *never* take a Club Selection, and you are free to resign at any time. Mail your enrollment now.

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Irene Corbally Kuhn	

The following list suggests the TYPE of Selection to be offered by the Conservative Book Club. (Inclusion in this list does not necessarily mean that a book will be a Club Selection.)

Suicide of the West, James Burnham's new book

Diplomat Among Warriors by Robert Murphy

Unpublished Writings of Whittaker Chambers (forthcoming)

Occasions and Protests, upcoming collection of John Dos Passos' political writings

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Each month you will send me free the Club Bulletin describing Selections and other recommended books, any of which I may reject on the handy form provided. If I accept a Selection, I need do nothing; it will come automatically. I am not obliged to take any minimum number of Selections; in fact, I need never buy a book from the Club and I am free to resign at any time.

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The WEEK

● Dr. Ralph Bunche, UN undersecretary for special political affairs, spoke to the masses on May 8 at the University of California (Berkeley) on a special political affair that lies very close to the Bunche heart. "I note that Sen. Barry Goldwater is again decrying civil rights demonstrations and is against people taking their protests into the street. His anxiety would be less dubious and less politically motivated if he just once would express real compassion for the millions of Americans who are daily denied and deprived of social justice only because of their color. He calls the United Nations presumptuous and, I suppose, seen from the nineteenth century, it is. He obviously is against civil rights, resents this century and refuses to recognize it." SpecPolAffSec, who apparently is unaware of Goldwater's numerous statements about Negro rights, went on to decry civil rights demonstrations in Cyprus, and implied that the UN didn't have enough cash to take care of Turks and Greeks who take their protests into the street.

● On April 30, the *Fort Wayne News Sentinel* carried a full-page advertisement "prepared and paid for by the Indiana State AFL-CIO [and] Region 3 UAW Citizenship Council" entitled: "It's Time to Think." It was an emotional plea to the people of Indiana to reject Governor Wallace of Alabama in the Presidential primary in that state because (among other things) "he [Wallace] nurtures the philosophy of ultra-conservatism, in the South, that gave aid and comfort to such characters as General Walker and Lee Harvey Oswald, who was alleged [sic] to have assassinated President Kennedy." One-third of the citizens of Indiana, having thoughtfully considered this and other thoughtful appeals of the kind, voted for George Wallace, perhaps because his was the least hysterical voice in town.

● Trial by jury, a point at issue in the Senate civil rights debate, has never been an absolute civil right; the courts have always had the power to punish people for criminal contempt without trial by jury; but that power of the courts, in turn, has been found to be limited by various factors, including the degree of punishment and the clarity of the statute under which the court order was issued. A fortnight ago the Senate voted, 46 to 45, to reject Thruston Morton's amendment, which would have guaranteed a jury trial for all criminal contempt proceedings arising under the anti-discrimination provisions of the civil rights bill. In doing so, the Senate would appear to have guaranteed 1) that punishments for criminal contempt in anti-discrimination cases will be minor, and 2) that "discrimination" can be defined with sufficient clarity. As things may work out, it could be perfectly legal to refuse to do business with a white man who looks like a poor credit risk, and illegal to make the same decision concerning a potential Negro customer, and the whole finding of motivation and business judgment would rest with a single judge. When the civil rights debate delves into such profound levels of legal philosophy, it is well to proceed searchingly, and deliberately.

● The "Jewish people" concept has been officially rejected, for the first time explicitly, by the United States Government. At its annual conference held May 7-9, the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism made public a formal letter from Assistant Secretary of State Phillips Talbot to Rabbi Elmer Berger, the Council's Executive Vice President, in which Mr. Talbot declared unequivocally: "The State Department recognizes Israel as a sovereign state but . . . does not recognize a legal-political relationship based upon the religious identification of American citizens. Accordingly it should be clear that the Department of State does not regard the 'Jewish people' concept as a concept of international law." This reaffirmation of the traditional strict American doctrine on citizenship against the claim of the Israeli Government, supported by many Zionists, to a special relation to "the Jewish people" of all nations achieves one of the primary objectives for the sake of which the American Council for Judaism was founded 21 years ago. "Tonight," remarked the Council's President, Clarence L. Coleman Jr., in presenting the Talbot letter, "is an historic moment in the long, troubled history of anti-Zionism."

● The opening of the Pakistani air route to Shanghai brought very little in the way of hard news about Red China that we did not know before, judging from stories by the first Western journalists (British, French, Swiss, German, Italian) to make the trip. The people are still clean, patient, industrious and uncomplaining, and though the standard of living is pitifully low, everything is ever so much better than before. The absence of birds, dogs and cats (presumably destroyed because they ate food needed by people) was widely noted. Government statistics, filed amid a welter of "seem to be's" and "so they say's," indicate progress in the construction of workers' apartments, roads and marble exhibition halls. In what may or may not be Potemkin Villages, agriculture was seen to be on the rise. Marshal Chen Yi told one observer that the country had reached the industrial level necessary to achieve nuclear fission, while another noted that in the capital city, Peking, there are not more than six privately owned cars.

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● DEPORTATION OF NEGROES IN 1972—the banner headline in the *Listener*, principal daily in Monrovia, Liberia. The lead sentence: "American Nazis are planning a 1972 D-Day for the expulsion of Negroes from the United States." The banner headline reports nothing more serious than a recent diatribe of George Lincoln Rockwell. Ignore him? "Herman Knell," the *Listener* continues, "chairman of the Americanism Commission of the Jewish War Veterans, has charged that Rockwell's Chicago Nazis are receiving training in the use of firearms." Liberia is widely unnoticed as a bitterly anti-white African despotism (President William Tubman is the boss). A few weeks ago a KLM pilot accidentally opened the door of the men's room into the face of the departing President, knocking him down. Bodyguards stripped the pilot, dragged him to police headquarters, beat him savagely, and were preparing to parade his broken body through the streets the next morning when the Dutch ambassador intervened.

● On the Sino-Soviet Rift Beat: On May 15 Moscow and Peking signed a new trade agreement covering commercial relations for the remainder of 1964. The Soviet Union will supply China with more Ilyushin-18 transport aircraft to add to its expanding airlines, along with trucks, petroleum products, tractors, chemicals, etc. China will balance these mostly with raw materials, including large quantities of lithium and other minerals required in nuclear technology. In an interview, May 17, with the Japanese news agency, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai commented: "China will fight side by side with Russia should war break out because imperialists attacked the Soviet Union."

● Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba, a moderate man, and not unintelligent, has been watching the goings-on of his neighbor, Ben Bella. Ben Bella signed a treaty with France two years ago and then proceeded to do everything he had pledged himself not to do, including kicking out nearly one million French settlers and confiscating their land and property. And still the foreign aid francs rolled in. So last week Bourguiba got into the act and announced the confiscation of half a million acres of land still held by French farmers or companies. And de Gaulle got mad and said he'd cut off foreign aid to Tunisia. And Bourguiba just laughed and laughed because he wasn't getting that much aid anyway. And there wasn't another blessed thing de Gaulle could do.

● From "Q-Clearance: The Development of a Personnel Security Program," in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May 1964, by Harold P. Green, a Washington attorney: "It seems to students of the security programs that it is much easier for clearances to be obtained today in almost every agency than five or six years ago and, conversely, that serious clearance problems arise in far fewer cases in almost every agency. But . . . despite the greater security sensitivity of the AEC program, . . . a person with substantially derogatory information in his background has a much greater chance of obtaining an AEC Q-clearance than a 'secret' clearance from almost any other government agency. (I am personally aware of several cases in which the AEC has granted clearance to persons unable to obtain clearance in other agencies or persons who were discharged on security grounds by other agencies . . .)" Mr. Green's source material, he says, was "made available" to him by the AEC.

cc: FBI, SISS, HUAC.

● What is the record of the University of Notre Dame on academic freedom? *Swell, swell.* But does the faculty conceive it as a special obligation to repudiate publicly the distortions and misrepresentations of demagogic leaders and to point out what they truly represent in American politics? *You bet, and in those very words, too.* How did they receive Wallace? *They repudiated him, in a manifesto.* But defended "his right to express his views . . . because . . . this right is the *sine qua non* of a free society"? *Oh, indeed—all except Dr. E. A. Goerner, of the political science department, who said it wasn't academic freedom but academic whoredom.* Academic whoredom? *He said the student who issued the invitation to Wallace "helped engineer a calculated attempt to seduce his alma mater in a house of ill fame."* Poor alma! Poor mater! *He said Wallace is not a philosopher, he is only a politician, with public relations men, hence his claim to the attention of a university audience is a fraud. He said students could learn all they needed to know about Wallace by watching TV. He said students should stage a protest to let everyone know Wallace wasn't welcome, because "it is precisely the intellectual and religious authority of the university that carries considerable weight with great numbers of poorly educated Catholic voters."* Did he really say that? *Cross my heart.* What would he say to an appearance at Notre Dame by Gus Hall, or Herbert Aptheker, or Frank Wilkinson, or Frank Donner, or Carl Braden? *You ask him.*

● A New Yorker wrote to the *Times* to protest its shabby obituary for General Douglas MacArthur. His letter was published, and it drew a retort, to wit, "We Japanese students had a beer party at Harvard Law School dormitory yesterday to celebrate MacArthur's death. Do you really believe the time-worn myth that Japan is a devoted daughter of MacArthur? /s/ Shinko Sayeki." On April 24 *Time* Magazine published an equally nasty letter about MacArthur, from "Shinko Sayeki." Not the phone book, our

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Cambridge correspondent informs us, nor the student-faculty directory, nor the Harvard University Information Service reveals the existence of any such person, so one must assume that some snot-nose sophomore has thought up the idea of defaming MacArthur's memory. We assume he is Caucasian, because *de mortuis nil nisei bonum.*

● SO HELP US IT HAPPENED, DEP'T. "All right, all right, now what's the trouble here?" asked the policeman as he shouldered his way through a noisy crowd in an Oaklawn, Illinois, liquor store the other day. The angry young man, a Negro, who had touched off the near riot and was still hurling charges of discrimination at everyone in sight finally calmed down enough to explain. Couldn't the officer see that the black dog on the Black & White Scotch bottle was SMALLER than the white dog?

● Seven hundred delegates from 32 New York (Suffolk County) high schools convened last week in mock convention, passed resolutions denouncing a) loyalty oaths, b) laws requiring Communist Party members to register as foreign agents, c) laws making it illegal to advocate violent overthrow of the U.S. Government, d) "In God We Trust" on coins and "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance. At NATIONAL REVIEW last week the editors held a mock convention, and voted unanimously to oppose any laws that seek to lower the voting age, or at least any law that would lower it for youths educated in Suffolk County.

By the Right Flank, Marched

What will happen in California on June 2 and July 16 remains in the lap of that myriad-headed god, the People. But it occurs to us that, almost without anyone's noticing it, the conservative movement that has gathered over the past year has *already* won a notable victory no matter who comes out of the Golden Gate as winner.

In 1960, as for many years past, control of the Republican Party was held by a coalition of its left wing and its center. This was symbolized by the famous journey of candidate-to-be Richard Nixon (representing the center) to the New York apartment of Nelson Rockefeller (representing in those circumstances the Eastern Seaboard and the left). In 1964, control of the Republican Party has almost certainly shifted to a coalition of the right wing and the center. This is indicated by the huge size of the delegate contingent pledged or to be pledged to Goldwater (representing the right); by the refusal of the center (Nixon, Eisenhower) to join a stop-Goldwater front; by the fury and party-splitting threats of the clearest representatives of the party's left (Javits). Goldwater in the past few weeks has been making repeated overtures to the center through his party-unity stress; if he gets the nomination he will unquestionably join, organizationally, with the center to take over the party machinery. If he fails to get the nomination, the man who gets it will have to have the votes of most of the Goldwater delegates; and these delegates can and will make a bloc only with the center, not with the left. This makes it nearly certain that Nixon is the only alternative to Goldwater—and it is on this assumption that Nixon has been operating. Even if another individual were chosen, the right-center coalition would emerge from the convention as the Party leadership, though with the center rather than the right dominant within it.

It's a cheerful thought: this is one fight that from this point on we can't wholly lose.

The Brown Decade

On May 17, 1954, a unanimous Supreme Court delivered, in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* an opinion that equals, perhaps exceeds, in historical importance any of its predecessors, *Dred Scott* included. The legal import of *Brown* was to declare compulsory racial segregation in public school systems to be unconstitutional. In reaching this conclusion, however, the Court openly went beyond normal juridical boundaries. *Brown* directly contradicted the established doctrine ("separate but equal") of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson.* The Court rested its case far more on the writings of certain sociologists, who alleged that segregated schooling was psychologically injurious to Negro children, than on legal principles and precedents.

The actual situation seems to have been this. The members of the Court had come to believe that racial discrimination—not only in schools but in general—was morally and socially dangerous. They felt that the state governments, Congress, and "natural" processes had proved unable or unwilling to deal with discrimination. They therefore boldly assumed—usurped, in truth—the legislative power in order to try to reconstruct our national society after the model of their equalitarian racial ideal.

Let us assume that this ideal is valid, and confine our reflections here to the question, What is the decade's verdict on *Brown*? Were *Brown,* and the subsequent opinions amplifying and extending *Brown,* effective means for advancing the ideal of racial integration, harmony and equality?

The verdict pronounced by the facts leaps to the eye, and is implicit even in the many tenth-anniversary recapitulations published in the journals that rate *Brown* alongside the Ten Commandments and

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the Declaration of Independence. *Brown* is an abysmal failure, strictly on its own terms.

The rate of school integration—the specific problem dealt with in *Brown*—has been no more rapid in this decade since 1954 than in the decade before 1954, when, without benefit of the Court, it was progressing slowly but continuously under the influence of economic change, social pressures, shifts in community sentiment, and state or local law. Today, after a decade of *Brown*, 91 per cent of Negro students in the Southern and Border states still attend segregated schools. In the Border states 55 per cent of the Negroes now attend nominally desegregated schools—but the process there was well under way in 1954. Only one per cent of Negroes in the former Confederate states are today in desegregated schools. Moreover, the desegregation that takes place under federal court orders usually proves illusory: a merely token change, or, as in the District of Columbia, the provocation to a more extreme de facto segregation caused by the voluntary withdrawal of the white pupils. In the Northern cities, the widespread de facto school segregation, resulting from residential patterns, has not been significantly changed, and in any case lies outside of the *Brown* ruling.

Has primary and secondary school integration, when brought by court order, meant better education for the Negro pupils, a relief from feelings of inferiority, an increase of racial equality, as *Brown* implicitly promised? In general—Washington is only the most extreme example—it has drastically lowered the standard of education and conduct for *both* Negro and white children, and has deepened the mutual alienation of the races.

But whatever the exact net result in the restricted field of school desegregation, what a price we are paying for *Brown*! It would be ridiculous to hold the Supreme Court solely to blame for the ludicrously named "civil rights movement"—that is, the Negro revolt, which springs in part from the universal conditions of our epoch. But the Court carries its share of the blame. Its decrees, beginning with *Brown*, have on the one hand encouraged the least responsible of the Negro leaders in the course of extra-legal and illegal struggle that we now witness around us. And on the other, the attempt to settle these profound social questions by arbitrary judicial ukase has helped arouse white resistance that might never have taken form if the Court had restrained itself.

A Stalin, ruling unchallenged a subjugated and terrorized nation, might perhaps remake its ways on sudden order. But in a nation still open and free, long-established attitudes and institutions can be altered only very slowly, only as the mind and heart become altered. *Brown*, as NATIONAL REVIEW declared many years ago, was bad law and bad sociology. We are now tasting its bitter fruits. Race relations in this country are ten times *worse* than in 1954. On the most favorable scoring, *Brown* did them no service.

Have we learned any lesson from the failure of *Brown*? It would seem not. A majority of Congress now intends to enact a civil rights bill that expresses the same fundamental error as *Brown*. It can be predicted with certainty that this bill will not bring the results its sponsors advertise. Except where they coincide with community sentiment, its provisions will not be carried out in practice. Its execution will be smothered in new tidal waves of litigation. It will not dampen the fires now raging in our streets, but blow them higher. It will not even buy the votes for the sake of which not a few of the senators supporting it have put aside their better judgment.

Footnote on Oregon

(Excerpts from a letter to NATIONAL REVIEW *from Stephen Shadegg, longtime friend of Senator Goldwater, and Western States Regional Director for the Goldwater Campaign. Mr. Shadegg's new book,* How to Win An Election, *will be published on June 29.)*

". . . Lodge was hurt when he was prevented from using a television segment that had been extremely effective in New Hampshire. The film, made in 1960,

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showed President Eisenhower introducing and recommending Lodge as 'the next Vice President of the United States.' But, according to observers in New Hampshire, the word 'Vice' was drowned in a blare of trumpets, giving the clear impression that Eisenhower was nominating candidate Lodge in 1964. On April 27 the Goldwater Committee in Oregon appealed to Eisenhower for clarification. Eisenhower's response about the film was prompt and unequivocal: 'If it suggests that I have given any public indication of a preference for any person over any other in the current contest, then it is a definite misrepresentation.' The Lodge forces had scheduled a heavy television showing of this film starting May 1. They lost a full week editing out the offensive portion.

"With Lodge in Saigon, Goldwater in Washington, Nixon diffident and aloof, Rockefeller had a political vacuum to huff and puff in. Rockefeller constantly repeated charges that Goldwater would eliminate social security, order the Marines into Cuba, and abandon missiles as part of our weapons system. Goldwater's enemies also said that he had ducked the Oregon primary because of the gloomy predictions of the pollsters. Voters, hearing the story, translated it to mean 'he doesn't want my vote.' Rockefeller hammered on the theme, 'I'm the man who cares enough to come to Oregon to ask for your vote—the other candidates don't care.' "

The Terrible Disappointment of Walter Cronkite

On Friday May 15 Walter Cronkite telephoned Gettysburg to see if he couldn't talk Mr. Eisenhower into denouncing the Horrible Extremism of Senator Goldwater. People had tried before, but Cronkite isn't just people, he's Cronkite, known to the General as "Walter," and to J. Walter Thompson as "The Anchor Man." By the time General Eisenhower was through with Walter, he was so perturbed that he can never again be described as imperturbable: more correctly, he is imperturbable except on those occasions when he sets out to do Goldwater political harm and has to sit there and take it when Goldwater reaps instead political gain.

Cronkite started chirpily by suggesting that Eisenhower's previous stand—that he would not take sides before the Convention—had caused "alarm in some quarters." Well, said Ike, that was his stand, and he wasn't going to depart from it, and what's more he thought those Republicans who talk about refusing to back the Republican ticket (Javits, *et al.*) were "very childish." Cronkite, bravely: But-but "since the moderate support is—is not really coalesced behind any single candidate, whereas conservative

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

THE STAKE IN VIETNAM
by Thomas Molnar

SAN FRANCISCO PREVIEW: An Appraisal of the California Primary

support has, behind Senator Goldwater, doesn't your staying out in effect work out in Senator Goldwater's favor?" Quoth Ike: "I don't know . . ." and anyway, "Senator Goldwater is not as extreme as some people have made him." Cronkite (hoarsely?): "Do you think that the principles, then, for which Senator Goldwater stands would satisfy you at San Francisco?" Ike said that he had been reading Goldwater's position pieces. Take for instance the foofaraw over selling the TVA—if people will only read Goldwater's actual statement on the subject, they will find "it's not a radical move at all. It is just getting private enterprise into a lot of things that are now the government's doing." Ike then said something homey about the reluctant moderates, that you cannot canter unless you have a horse, to which the speechless Cronkite merely responded by saying, "Yeah." Recovering himself, a few moments later he said properly: "Thank you very much, General Eisenhower." Ike: "Well—" Cronkite (interrupting): "Very good of you to take the time to talk to us." Ike: "Nice to talk to you, Walter."

All in all quite a performance. The leader of the Republican Party, archangel of Republican progressives, undefeated former President of the United States: denounces as childish all the Javitses, Rockefellers, Cases, Kuchels who talk direly about bolting the ticket in the event Goldwater is nominated, says there is no reason to believe Goldwater is an extremist, recommends reading Goldwater's statements instead of accepting horror-story versions of them, reiterates his flat refusal to intervene to head off Senator Goldwater. News?

In New York only one out of six newspapers mentioned it. What about your newspapers?

Story of an Ad

"*The undersigned—parents and grandparents, wives and children and brothers and sisters of Americans killed in Vietnam—have a question for the President of the United States and the Nation: WHY?*" This was the opening sentence of a striking full page advertisement that appeared last week in the *Washington Star*. The message went on to ask President Johnson why, if the United States does not intend to take the necessary measures to win the war in South

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Focus on NOV. 3

◆ Delegate tally. As of May 15 the Goldwater HQ reported 310 delegates "publicly committed" to Goldwater, 80 "favorable," 150 "uncommitted," and 197 "other" (about half of which is largely pro-Goldwater "favorite son" strength). Mathematicians may notice that the sum of delegates already committed and favorable, plus the favorite son vote, plus the expected gains from state conventions, plus a fraction of the uncommitted, would give Goldwater the nomination —without those 86 from California.

◆ Sure, sure, the press will say: maybe the GOP bosses support Barry, but he doesn't have any popular backing; he has only 15 per cent of the GOP rank and file. Well, as the experts say, the ultimate poll is the election, and in the primary elections held up to now (through Oregon) the 1,967,484 votes cast for the major GOP candidates have been distributed as follows: 9.1 per cent for Nixon, 10.9 for Rockefeller, 11.5 per cent for Scranton, 15.0 per cent for Lodge, and 53.5 per cent for Goldwater.

◆ The 1964 elections will show the continuing shift of GOP power away from the Eastern (Liberal) bloc. The Texas story illustrates brilliantly what has been going on in the GOP south and west of the Hudson River. In the 1954 Texas GOP gubernatorial primary 9,742 votes were cast. In 1958, 10,959. In 1961 Texas elected its first Republican senator in a century (John Tower). In 1962 the GOP gubernatorial primary vote was 115,274. This year the GOP primary vote reached 145,000. It would have been much higher but for the masses of Texas conservatives who took a detour into the Democratic fray in order to slap LBJ by voting against Senator Ralph Yarborough, LBJ's great Liberal buddy. The anti-LBJ vote accounted for the amazing 43 per cent of the Democratic vote that went for the virtually unknown McLendon; in the Democratic primary about 1.5 million votes were cast; all of which suggests that a conservative GOP Presidential nominee could carry Texas.

◆ Here's an example of how hard Governor Rockefeller is working to keep the New York delegation at heel. In cahoots with Brooklyn's GOP boss, John R. Crews, Rockefeller has lined up: 1) C. Mildred Pafundi, who is actually Mrs. Rosen when she isn't looking for Rocky votes in the largely Italian 11th Congressional District, where, by the way, she isn't even a resident, perhaps because her duties as Assistant Attorney General (N.Y.) keep her so tightly tied to Albany and Rocky; 2) Robert J. Crews, County Clerk of Kings County, and twin brother of Boss John, as delegate from the 14th Congressional District; 3) Daniel J. Polansky as alternate to Robert J. Crews, also a state employee and, like Pafundi-Rosen, a non-resident; 4) Anthony J. Durso, Secretary of the GOP county organization, as delegate from the 13th Congressional District, also a non-resident; 5) Durso's boss, John R. Crews, as delegate from the 15th Congressional district. The law doesn't require delegates to be residents of the districts they "represent," but it's an indication of Rockfeller's political weakness at home that he has to rely so heavily on payroll hacks and/or non-residents, hand-picked.

◆ The pollsters and pundits are getting whipsawed so far in 1964 politics. Lou Harris, for example, was nine percentage points off in his forecast of Rockefeller's showing in Oregon, although he earned a chiaroscuro encouragement from the *New York Times*, which said: "That sizable error was an improvement, however, over Mr. Harris's forecasts in New Hampshire."

Vietnam, it is necessary to sacrifice American lives there. It was signed by relatives of 43 of the 127 American soldiers dead in Vietnam.

The advertisement had a stunning effect, because it focused the attention of all who saw it on precisely the question of the hour—Why? Why indeed fight for South Vietnam unless we are prepared to draw the necessary strategic inferences—unless we are prepared to acknowledge that we cannot fight successfully without taking action against North Vietnam, whose capacity to infiltrate Free Vietnam is beyond our capacity, or the free Vietnamese's, to cope with.

Fair enough? Not for the *New York Herald Tribune*, which two days later ran a front page story under the streamer headline: "GI Kin 'Protest' Exposed." What was exposed? That the ad had been conceived by Mr. Marvin Liebman, who is the director of a public relations organization, and who has been connected with numerous anti-Communist enterprises; that the layout of the advertisement had been done by the art director of NATIONAL REVIEW, Mr. James O'Bryan; and that the ad had been paid for by former Governor Charles Edison and a few of his friends. So?

That is what they call an exposé, these days, over at the *Tribune*. One wonders: did anyone expect that the 43 widows and grandmothers had met together in Washington and excogitated the idea of the ad out of thin air, and hired the art department of the Defense Department to draw up the ad? What is sinister, or furtive, about Governor Edison's calling on a few of his friends to pay for the ad? Should the widows have been billed for it? The fact of the matter is that the suggestion of the ad, together with the projected layout, was sent to 44 of the next of kin, and 43 of whom replied by authorizing the use of their names, and the names of other members of their families, for this message. Mr. Liebman, who conceived the ad, donated his time to the project. Mr. O'Bryan donated his. Governor Edison, another

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patriot, underwrote the ad. No committees were formed, no funds were requested: a question was merely posed. Rather than address itself to trying to find the answer to the question Why?, the *Tribune* considers it front-page news that someone in the country is so enterprising as to ask the question it should be asking, in behalf of those whose sons and fathers are being killed in South Vietnam, in an action made pointless by the paralysis of the national will.

A President's Prerogative?

If the law can compel me to employ a Negro, it can compel that Negro to work for me. It might even tell him how long and how hard he would have to work. As I see it, such a law would do nothing more than enslave a minority. Lyndon B. Johnson (1949)

In plumping for the status quo,
He laid it on the line.
But that was very long ago—
In 1949.

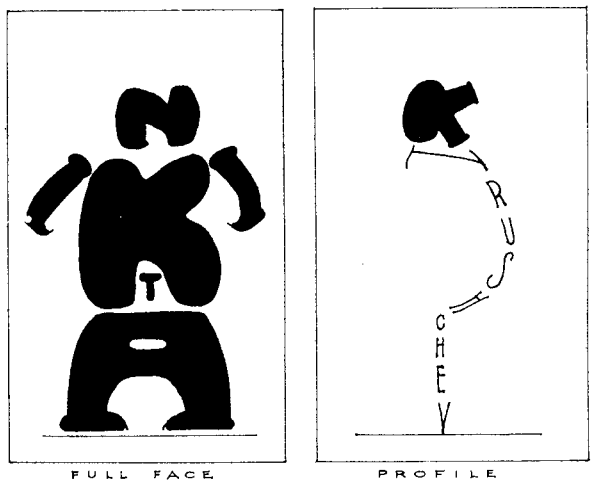
He loved to let the Rebels yak
About the law's design.
But he was in the Senate, back
In 1949.

Could I be Johnson's protégé?
I'm *dying* to assign
The debts I've tallied up today
To 1949!

W. H. von Dreele

Dr. Barth (Alan) on America's Heart Condition

It is sad to see representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ defend the Supreme Court's recent exorcism of all prayer from the public curricula. The Council goes against the lay of America's Protestant sentiment, popular and clerical. The overwhelming majority of the American people, and of the ministry, are anxious to demonstrate that we have not become so fanatical in our interpretation of the First Amendment as seriously to believe that readings from the Bible, and the voluntary recitation of the Lord's Prayer, threaten the ideal of a separate church and state. But the separatists do their work unscathed by the opprobrium that normally attaches to fanaticism: for they have so well maneuvered the argument as to give the impression that those who would pass the proposed Becker



Amendment restoring to schools the rights they exercised during the first 173 years of our history under the Constitution, are the dangerous radicals. Listen to Alan Barth, author and editorial writer for the influential *Washington Post*, speaking at the University of Colorado: The proposed Becker Amendment is "dangerous as dynamite." *Its passage would be a blow to the "heart and soul" of the Constitution.*

What does it all mean? How have the separatists managed to create an atmosphere in which those—unquestionably a large majority—who seek to continue in the traditional ways of this country, from the practice of which they were rudely interrupted by an ideologically hopped-up Supreme Court only two years ago, can be accused of playing with dynamite? If by restoring rights we practiced for so many generations we would be playing with dynamite, then let it be revealed that we played with dynamite during many many generations; and what happened during that period? When the Republic began, five of the thirteen states had official, established religions. One hundred seventy-three dynamite-packed years later, *no* state had an established religion—and it was nowhere being seriously contended that anywhere in the Union there were movements pushing us in the direction of the unification of church and state. How do Dr. Barth and his followers learn so much about the heart and soul of the Constitution, so much that eluded the attention of the physicians who founded the Republic, and the gentlemen who have diagnosed its health right up until 1962? How is it maintained that their separatist mania is the sign of a healthy relationship between church and state in the teeth of the evidence surrounding us? Ours is the *only* country in Christendom which officially forbids voluntary prayer in its public schools. Truly this is a land of fundamentalist passions. Cotton Mather obviously would not have approved of the program of the separatists, but their relentless arguments, their unflagging zealotry, would have warmed his flinty heart.

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Notes and Asides

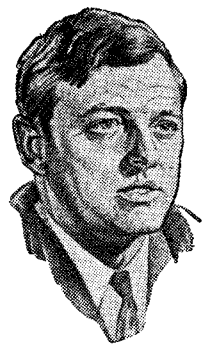
Alas, our colleague Mr. Brent Bozell did not win his bid for the Republican nomination in Maryland's 6th District, whether because the voters discovered he was a Communist, or because they discovered he was a conservative, we do not know. It is hard work, fighting against an incumbent in one's own party, and against a hostile press. But Bozell's spirited fight, and the quality of the men and women who fought for him, make him the man to beat in the wide-open race in 1966 when Montgomery County gets its own congressman, by order of the Supreme Court. Whoever said Warren should be hanged?

On the Right

Lyndon Johnson, Rex

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Lyndon Johnson, for all his simplicity, is acquiring some kingly habits. Wherever he goes nowadays he seems to have got into the habit of making a royal gift, like the kings of yore who when visiting their provinces would scatter about a chestload or two of ducats among the peasants, as evidence of their royal favor. Considering how much Mr. Johnson is given to traveling about, there is some fear for the endurance of the patrimony.



Buckley

His trip to Appalachia cost the royal exchequer one billion dollars. When he went up to the World's Fair to speak to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers he was not in a munificent frame of mind, and dropped therefore a mere million dollar gift to the cause of juvenile delinquency in Harlem. There was a splendid opportunity there, I thought, for Nelson Rockefeller to upstage him by making a gift of *two* million: but Nelson Rockefeller is busy these days, spreading his wealth among the peasants of California. . . .

It is a very interesting precedent, this business of facing an audience, making a grandiose Executive commitment, and then sitting back to watch Congress writhe with embarrassment. One night in 1961 John F. Kennedy called in for a good dinner at the White House a bunch of Latin American diplomats, and before the evening was over had promised them twenty billion dollars in the course of the next ten years—an expensive dinner. The routine, as I say, is to make the promise—then stare Congress in the face and more or less challenge it to call you a deadbeat. Congress being as Congress is these days, *i.e.*, fearful of public opinion, benumbed by the ignorance of the average voter about the source of all those funds he is constantly showering about the country and the world (they come, of course, out of the voter's own pocket), weakly succumbs. With the exception of some of the squanderoos built around the foreign aid programs, I cannot think offhand when recently Congress has aborted an act of royal largesse.

Mr. Johnson, then, is in a position to make the United States Treasury a depressed area if he keeps it up. There is an energy about the man which mortifies those of us in our thirties, who would not have the energy to give away more than a few million dollars a day, if we were President. An observer said once about Mrs. Roosevelt that she treated all the world like her own, personal slum project. Mr. Johnson, who told a reporter in December of last year that he considers himself more Liberal than Mrs. Roosevelt, doesn't exactly do that: it is not a part of his psychological make-up to suggest that all the world is a slum. His buoyant optimism and *joie de vivre* combine a sort of Couéist optimism ("every day in every way the world is getting better and better") with a Donne-like sensitivity ("every man's death diminisheth me, for I am involved in mankind") to human want. He desires to settle all the problems America has—even while assuring us that America doesn't have many problems. He wants to solve the problems of race relations, of poverty, of old age insurance, of deficient schooling, of Communism, and of Cyprus. His contribution towards the solution of this last is Senator Fulbright. His contribution towards the solution of the others is to spend more money, enact more laws, and trust in the good faith of the Soviet Union.

An extraordinary man, no doubt about it. A man with chiliastic fervor: *"See that problem? Believe in me. See now the problem is gone."* Here indeed is a true difference between the Liberal and the conservative mode, for the conservative recognizes the problem, seeks to do something about it primarily by harnessing human instincts, rather than by harnessing governmental machinery. Thus the problem of poverty is one that is met more successfully by the same means that brought this nation out of poverty into affluence in the past two hundred years. The Liberal mode, so much more appealing to so many more people because of its capacity to give instant gratification, is to do away with problems by acts of corporate national resolution. Lyndon Johnson is a perfect embodiment of that kind of national exuberance, and he is giving us a wonderful ride. Sometimes, if I close my eyes, I can almost hear his music. But I do have to close my eyes. When they are open, I see the line in the Bible which Arthur Krock has frequently cited, from Proverbs 26:17, which warns us that "He that passeth by, and meddleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears."

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From WASHINGTON Straight

Eenie, Meenie

► The civil rights pace is picking up again. The White House, the Justice Department and the Senate have finally sat down to talk tough-minded strategy. The grandstanding is over.

The problem resolves itself into a set of hard mathematical equations. To pass the bill, Senate floor manager Hubert Humphrey must collect sufficient votes to close debate; *i.e.,* stop the filibuster. He will need 65 to 67 votes to invoke cloture; he says he has 62 or 63; Cato counts 62.

Humphrey has cajoled, promised and threatened. He must pick up the rest from a) party mavericks; b) border state Democrats with little seniority and c) senators facing elections this year: a and b have felt the full force of Administration pressure; c, the largest and most important bloc, will feel the pressure of constituent opinion.

Twenty-two senators facing re-election are considered in favor of the civil rights bill and in favor of cloture to bring it to a vote. But there may be some weak spots. Ralph Yarborough (D., Tex.), the lone Southerner, has supported the bill sotto voce, mostly to Negro audiences; his Republican opponent in the general election is an outspoken critic of the bill. Both Winston Prouty (R., Vt.), and Gale McGee (D., Wyo) will think hard before voting for cloture. They represent small states which may someday need the protection of unlimited debate.

Seven senators up for re-election are now considered against the bill and against cloture, with the possible exception of mercurial Albert Gore (D., Tenn).

Four senators are publicly uncommitted, and the fate of the civil rights bill and the shape in which it will emerge may well rest with them: Republicans John Williams of Delaware and Roman Hruska of Nebraska and former lame-duck governors Evan Mechem of New Mexico and Howard Edmondson of Oklahoma.

Williams will vote for cloture—and the bill—when and if it is amended to his liking. Humphrey will listen to him. The same is true of Hruska, who is an overwhelming favorite for re-election whichever way he votes. Mechem has been ambiguous in his evaluation of the bill. He faces a tough fight in November from Rep. Joseph Montoya (D., N.M), who ostentatiously supported the bill in the House. The best line on Mechem may be that opponents of the bill confer with him continually, treat him as one of the hard-core Southern bloc. Edmondson has been less than candid also; he has his ear to the ground and must ponder what a wrong vote could mean in his battle against former football coach Bud Wilkinson.

Cannon to Mahon

► The passing of Clarence Cannon (D., Mo.) shook the Hill as few events do. He had been a member of the House for forty years, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee —the birthplace of all appropriations legislation—for twenty-two years. He was colorful and competent and his indefatigable blue pencil will be missed. Although he waged a losing battle against federal spending, he saved the taxpayers billions. His chairmanship—and its immeasurable power—now passes to Rep. George Mahon (D., Tex.).

Mahon has long specialized in the defense appropriations bill, which accounts for more than half of the federal budget. In his fifteen years as chairman of the Department of Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, he has earned a reputation for frugality and diligent effort. He is expected to retain his chairmanship.

Several troublesome signs have appeared recently, however. Personally and politically, Mahon is much closer to his fellow-Texan, LBJ, than he was to the late President. During the defense budget hearings for fiscal '65, the Subcommittee continually deleted testimony from the printed record "in the interests of national security." According to Rep. William Minshall (R., O): "More times than not the only security involved was the political security of the present Administration." Less than half of Gen. Curtis Lemay's testimony found its way into the hearing record. These deletions, for the most part, were not defense statistics, but the informed opinions of a military expert which happened to be in conflict with those of the Secretary of Defense.

Also unsettling is Mahon's well-known formulation on money bills. On those matters he considers in the national interest, he "would rather overdo it than underdo it."

Washington observers believe foreign military assistance bills will be transferred from Rep. Otto Passman's Foreign Operations Subcommittee to Mahon's Defense Subcommittee. Passman, of course, is an implacable foe of foreign aid waste.

To Camp

► Among LBJ's schemes to stamp out poverty is the so-called Job Corps, an idea President Kennedy put forward but did nothing much to implement. The Job Corps will build and promote a string of conservation camps, in which young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one will work and learn to get along with others. The program is designed to accommodate a peak load of 40,000 youngsters. The operating cost for the first year is now estimated by the Administration at $190 million; $4,700 per man per year.

Republicans have pointed out that, for the same outlay, *two* men could be sent to any vocational school or college in the country—where they would learn skills and develop talents for existing job opportunities. Republicans have made such remarks at long distance, however, for they have been excluded from the House Education and Labor Committee for two weeks by Chairman Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

Late last week, Powell ordered Republicans back into executive session, where they settled in for an enervating committee battle. **CATO**

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The Third World War

A Scolding from the Ambassador

JAMES BURNHAM

In the manner of an aging schoolmaster soured by the perennial naughtiness of his charges, George F. Kennan gives us a piece of his mind in three lectures *On Dealing With The Communist World,* delivered to the Council on Foreign Relations and now published as a little book, or booklet (Harper & Row, $3.00). Before he has finished, we all get what-ho: "a prominent political figure" (let him be nameless) who asks, "Why not victory?"; "one of our leading conservative columnists" (no less nameless, he) who has a habit of "referring to us as being 'at war' with the Soviet Union"; members of that eighteenth-century millstone around a diplomat's neck, the Congress; the mad "liberationists" who conned Congress into adopting "the so-called Captive Nations Resolution"; and all the rest of us too—even the sponsors of the Council on Foreign Relations—who supinely permit the barbarians to deflect the course of the nation's foreign policy.

We are led astray by our ignorance: by "deep failures of understanding about . . . the problems of Communist power generally," by "an inability to absorb the lessons of this decade" or "to remember those of earlier ones." Ambassador Kennan offers his text as "a contribution" toward overcoming our ignorance and thus permitting our government, no longer encumbered by a besotted citizenry, to find its way out of the dark wood.

Presumably events that happened in Lenin's and Stalin's day are irrelevant to our understanding about "the problems of Communist power generally," since Mr. Kennan makes no reference to any of them. Nor do such more recent incidents as, for passing example, the building of the Berlin Wall rate even a single word's attention. Too trivial, also, for notice are—sticking to the post-Stalin years—Laos, the East German uprising, Tibet, spy rings, the Vietnam or Himalayan war, Communist operations in the Congo, Iraq, Lebanon, Guatemala, or Zanzibar. On Cuba there is half a sentence, noting Soviet reasonableness in withdrawing "the installations" (no comment on Soviet whatever-it-was in introducing them). The 1956 disturbances do manage to get one whole sentence: "But this [conciliatory move toward Tito by Khrushchev], implying as it did at least a willingness to forgive the earlier defiance of bloc discipline, proved unsettling in its effect on the other satellites, particularly the Poles and Hungarians, and has a good deal to do with the events of 1956 in those two countries." You'll have to look elsewhere to refresh your memory of just what "those events of 1956" might have been.

No Facts, Please

The remoteness of Mr. Kennan's argument from the world of fact indicates accurately what kind of work this is: not at all the objective, scholarly analysis it poses as, but, barely disguised under the pretentious officialese rhetoric, a bitterly partisan propaganda tract. Mr. Kennan no longer bothers with his old 1951 formulas: "firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies . . . , designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counterforce at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world." The word "containment" does not even appear in this new text, much less "firm" or "vigilant," and there is no suggestion that the Russians ever *do* encroach upon "the interests of a peaceful and stable world."

The proposition is now unqualified: "The West has no choice but to accept the quest for peaceful coexistence as the basis for policy toward the countries of the Communist world." But if the Communist world does not, from its side, accept "the quest for peaceful coexistence" as the basis for policy toward the countries of the non-Communist world, if the talk by some Communists about "peaceful coexistencee" may be only a device for throwing us off guard, the more easily to bury us? No matter: there is no qualification; the West has *no choice* but peaceful coexistence.

But to say that *we* have no other choice, while the Communists remain free to choose, is equivalent to saying that we can no longer resist, can no longer "contain," can no longer even adapt defensively to moves by the other side. The policy of containment evolves through the transitional concept—furnished, let us note, by Khrushchev—of peaceful coexistence into a policy of appeasement and surrender.

It's Only Us Ghosts

Mr. Kennan presents no affirmative evidence, there being none, that an unqualified policy of peaceful coexistence could in fact defend this country and the West. His argument is exclusively negative: that it is impossible to achieve what he states to be the only conceivable alternate goal —"the early and total destruction, everywhere, of everything that calls itself Communism." But no one advocates the early and total destruction, everywhere, of everything that calls itself Communism. "Victory over Communism" means, for the United States, the reduction, restraint or neutralization of Communist power to a point where it no longer threatens the security of this country or the peace of the world; and no one imagines that this goal can be an "early" achievement—thanks, partly, to the Kennans and their predecessors who helped divert the West from that goal when it might have been reached a good deal more easily.

But why bother about these minor distinctions? In Mr. Kennan's world there isn't any such thing, after all, as Communism. "I think," he confesses, "there could be no more useful innovation in the discussion, public and governmental, of the affairs of the 'Communist' orbit than a law which forbade all of us, including myself, to use the word 'Communist' at all." There certainly can be no simpler way of dealing with the Communist world than by defining it out of existence.

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Who Killed Diem and Why?

To move ahead in Southeast Asia the Communists had to get rid of Diem: a study of how they went about it, with whose help, and why that help was given

V. L. BORIN

On Nov. 13, 1963, Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia announced the end of U.S. foreign aid to his country and asked for the withdrawal of American advisers. Prince Sihanouk had learned a lesson from Vietnam where President Diem and his brother had been deposed and murdered just twelve days earlier. He thought he understood why they had died.

Until 1954, Vietnam was relatively unknown, a part of French Indochina. From 1945 on there had been resistance against French colonial rule led by Ho Chi Minh, the son of a mandarin from Nghe Au, who had set up a "National United Front." Nobody in Vietnam at the time knew that Ho was a man of many names, an experienced Communist conspirator who had been trained in Moscow in 1920. He had been active in the Chinese Kuomintang in 1924 and had been an associate of Mao Tse-tung at the start of his career in 1927. Ho was arrested by the British in Hong Kong in 1931, but released, thanks to the efforts of his British solicitor, Sir Stafford Cripps, who obviously did not know whom he was defending. (Cripps frequently failed brilliantly to know what he was doing.)

How could the Vietnamese know that Ho, the son of a mandarin, was a Communist conspirator and that his National United Front was his cover? The full story came out only some years later in a book by General Vo Nguyen Giap, *The People's Army*, which was published in 1960. Giap, the conqueror of Dien Bien Phu, was a close collaborator of Ho and commander-in-chief of the Vietminh army. "The National United Front," he states, "was to be a vast assembly of all those forces capable of being united; it was to neutralize all those who could be neutralized and to divide all those who could be divided."

Still and all, Ho could not liquidate French forces so long as Chiang Kai-shek remained in power in China. Chiang was an effective block to Communist advances into Asia. But eventually, with the help of the United States, against its own best interests, Chiang was defeated and Ho then was ready for his own major assault on the French in Indochina. Says General Giap: "The year 1949 saw the brilliant triumph of the Chinese revolution. This great historic event which altered events in Asia and in the world exerted a considerable influence on the war of liberation of the Vietnamese people. Vietnam was no longer in the grip of enemy encirclement and henceforth geographically linked with the socialist bloc." That is to say, it now had a common border with a Communist China across which arms and guerrillas could flow.

Another Korea

From that moment, arms and ammunition started to reach Ho's Communist forces in massive quantities. Ho's troops were trained in China and reinforced by "volunteers," the same "volunteers" recently released from the losing war they had been waging in Korea until the British Labor Party and American Liberals stopped General MacArthur's army from attaining victory there. French forces, the majority of them Foreign Legion troops, surrendered on May 7, 1954 at Dien Bien Phu. They had fought 55 days and nights without reserves and without supplies. It was the second time that the Foreign Legion fought to the last breath for a puppet emperor—in Mexico in 1864 for Maximilian and in Vietnam in 1954, for Bao Dai.

At the Geneva Conference in 1954, the Korea story was repeated and Vietnam divided in two. The North was ceded to Ho and his Communists and South Vietnam established as a sovereign nation. Nobody in the State Department realized that another and even more dangerous Korea was being created.

About two million North Vietnamese fled South. The majority of them were Catholics and they were to become the most determined opponents of Communism. Ngo Dinh Diem, a Catholic and son of a mandarin, was elected President of Vietnam. In short order and against almost insuperable odds, Diem brought to heel the private religious sects and their armies, disarmed the local warlords and then booted out the French and their puppet emperor, Bao Dai. He achieved all this because Ho had his hands full up north.

The peasants in Ho's own native province, Nghe Au, had revolted against collectivization. Gen. Giap and his People's Army put down the rebellion mercilessly. The Communist regime doubled the rice tax the French had levied on the local peasants.

Half of Hanoi's budget (which is twice as large as Saigon's although North Vietnam has only 12 per cent more people) is used for military expenditures. But even so, the modern 350,000-man Vietcong army could not exist without foreign aid. On June 7, 1955, Peking pledged 70 billion francs in aid to North Vietnam; a logical step since the Vietcong army is the vanguard of the Chinese Communist Army.

On September 23, 1960, the Vietcong, in effect, declared war when *Nham Dan*, the central organ of the Vietcong Communist Party, stated: "The immediate task of the revolution in the South consists in overthrowing the dictatorial clique in power in South Vietnam."

The Communists had had no success in penetrating the South through

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propaganda after the harsh tactics they had used to force collectivization in the North. The peasants in Vietnam had been informed by "bush telegraph" of those atrocities. This meant that Ho had to resort to a war of "liberation" and to tactics of intimidation. Groups of trained Vietcong terrorists moved through the jungles into Vietnam territory. They would appear suddenly in a village, execute the elder of the village council, mutilate and expose his body and warn the people: "This will happen to everybody who obeys Diem's government."

In 1962 they tortured to death 1,062 members of village councils, 345 communal agents, 1,001 members of the village militias, 835 civil guards, 499 captured Vietnamese soldiers, 32 teachers, six medical officers and one priest, Father Bonnet. And after each attack they slipped back into the bush disappearing long before Vietnamese troops could reach the scene.

U.S. Aid & Its Consequences

On Dec. 15, 1961, a Chinese military mission, headed by Marshal Yek Chien Ying, arrived in North Vietnam to supervise the "revolutionary war" in the South.

That same day, President Diem sent this message to the President of the United States:

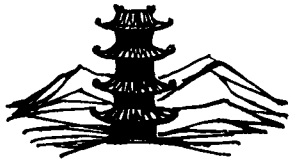
> Vietnam is not a great power and the forces of international Communism now arrayed against us are more than we can meet with the resources at hand. We must have further assistance from the United States if we are to win the war now being waged against us. We can certainly assure mankind that our action is purely defensive. Much as we regret the subjugation of more than half of our people in North Vietnam, we have no intention and indeed no means to free them by force.

President Kennedy replied as follows:

> The United States, like the Republic of Vietnam, remains devoted to the cause of peace and our primary purpose is to help your people [maintain] their independence. If the Communist authorities in North Vietnam will stop their campaign to destroy the Republic of Vietnam, the measures we are taking to assist your defense will be no longer necessary.

Poor Diem was pleased at receiving such a pledge from the President of the United States. He did not know that this pledge would prove to be his death warrant.

Ho's revolutionary war had become hopeless. He could not, even with the assistance of Communist China, defeat a South Vietnam aided by the United States of America with its vast industrial power. To win Ho had to repeat the Chiang Kai-shek



story of 1944-1949. The first step, as in that chapter, would have to be to discredit Diem in the eyes of America.

He must have been pleased, therefore, when on April 11, 1962, the *New York Times* carried an advertisement, "An Open Letter to President John F. Kennedy," in which the propaganda line against Diem was rephrased as follows:

> The people of South Vietnam have suffered enough. Having fought eight years to win independence from France, they have been compelled to fight seven more years, 1955-1962, to achieve independence from dictator Diem and the United States, which has maintained him in power. It is time to end the ordeal of the South Vietnamese people and to permit them to enjoy the fruits of liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The Open Letter was signed by: Ralph E. Turner, Yale; Dr. Erling R. Skorpen, Yale; Harry R. Rudin, Yale; Roland H. Bainton, Yale; Jerome Davis (former Professor, Yale Divinity School); Frederic L. Schuman, Prof. of Political Science; Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Unitarian Minister, Los Angeles; Edmund C. Berkeley, Businessman, Newtonville, Mass.; Mrs. Elizabeth B. Boyden, Cambridge, Mass.; Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, New Haven, Conn.; Prof. Fowler V. Harper, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Community Church, Boston; Royal France, Attorney, New York City; Corliss Lamont, Author and Educator; James Higgins, Managing Editor, *York Gazette and Daily;* Dr. Linus Pauling, Physicist (Nobel Prize).

These distinguished gentlemen had never protested against the massacre of the peasants in North Vietnam, against the ruthless taxes extracted from them, against the assassination of thousands of peaceful people in South Vietnam by Vietcong Communists. Their first public plea was to demand exactly what the Communist dictator Ho Chi Minh wanted, the withdrawal of U.S. assistance to Vietnam. They never asked that the Chinese dictator, Mao Tse-tung, withdraw his military assistance to Ho. And they helped confuse the picture by telling the American reader that the Vietcong terrorists who assassinated the Vietnamese people were, in fact, South Vietnamese individuals fighting for freedom.

This advertisement informed American readers for the first time that Diem was a dictator oppressing his people. True, the Communist press had trumpeted this for more than a year, from the moment that Vietcong guerrilla bands had invaded Vietnam, but these self-serving statements were recognizable as such and nobody had paid much attention to them.

It was not an accident that this advertisement was first published in the *Times.* Readers of the daily press have very short memories, but a student of politics remembers previous actions which started in the *New York Times.*

The Chiang Kai-shek Story

To recapitulate briefly. Until the collapse of Japan in August 1945, Chiang Kai-shek was a noble ally of the Western democracies and even valuable to the Soviet Union in that Chiang's armies tied down major Japanese forces and kept them from attacking Soviet Siberia. Until this time, not even the Communist press knew that Chiang was a "corrupt dictator." But the day Japan collapsed, he became "corrupt" and "reactionary" because he stood in the way of Stalin's domination of Asia. As long as Chiang was supported by the United States, Communism in China could not succeed. So Chiang had to be discredited in American eyes.

A press orgy against the corruption of the Chinese nationalists was unleashed, not only in the U.S. press but in the Liberal Western press at large in 1946. I'll give just two examples to show the kind of thing that was done.

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1) The French journalist Robert Guillam reported in *Le Monde* that "blood plasma supplied by America to Chinese hospitals is being sold on the black market in the streets." The story was picked up and reprinted in much of the Liberal press.

The Liberal Press . . .

At the request of Chiang, the U.S. investigated and found that American authorities had sold war supplies to private Chinese merchants at nominal cost at the end of the war. Among these supplies were a few cans of blood plasma, which had been resold on the Shanghai market. An official statement on the case was sent to all newspapers that had published Guillam's story. Not one published the correction. (On March 21, 1963, seventeen years later, in the *Sydney Daily Mirror* an article by Miss Carolyn Bertsen resurrected the story. When an Australian colonel who knew the truth pointed it out to the editor his letter was not printed.)

2) In a 1947 issue of the *New York Times Magazine,* Nathaniel Pfeffer of Columbia University published a story with pictures showing a political demonstration against the Chiang regime in the streets of Nanking. When Mr. Roscoe Pound, of Harvard, examined the pictures by magnifying glass and deciphered the signs on the banners he discovered they were actually pictures of a Buddhist religious procession in Nanking that could have taken place at any time. He called this to the attention of the responsible editor who replied, rather airily, that the writer wrote in an interesting fashion and that that was all the *Times* required.

The *New York Times* has shown itself to be particularly harsh toward allies it considers unworthy of U.S. democracy, and in this it pretty much sets the standard for progressive journalists in the English-speaking world. Consider the role it played in the Chiang story, in the events leading to the recall of General MacArthur during the Korean War, in the buildup of Castro, and again in the destruction of Diem.

In the Diem story we come upon another French journalist, François Sully, the *Newsweek* correspondent in Vietnam. In an article, "The Unpleasant Truth" in the August 20, 1962 issue of *Newsweek,* Mr. Sully informed readers that the Vietnam Government had lost the battle of Han Tun, that Vietnamese troops were unwilling to fight under Diem and he concluded that "the war in South Vietnam at the present is a losing proposition."

The questions that come to mind are: what was the Battle of Han Tun and why did the Vietnamese lose it?

Han Tun is a fishing port seventy miles southwest of Saigon. At midnight, during a tropical storm, Vietcong guerrillas raided the village and "caught most of the eighty-man government garrison sleeping." They killed twelve of them, wounded seventeen, plundered the village and disappeared.

To call this skirmish a battle is to manifest complete ignorance in military affairs or deliberately to cheat readers. Gen. Paul Harkins, commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam, in-

Chiang Kai-shek

sisted at the time that "the Vietnamese army, fighting for the third year against much better trained Vietcong Communist guerrillas, is an army of good spirit in spite of the skirmish at Han Tun."

But Mr. Sully ridiculed General Harkins in his piece, calling him "good soldier Harkins" (Good Soldier Schweik).

Sully, himself of French origin, had bitterly resented the American take-over and, like most of the French colony in Vietnam, was so anti-American that people on the spot were often hard put to tell the difference between the local French line and the Communist line. Both hated Diem bitterly: the French because Diem was ever and always anti-colonialist; the Communists because he was ever and always anti-Communist.

Let's ask ourselves what the British Home Office or the U.S. State Department would have done in the last war with a foreign correspondent of Mr. Sully's type? The British didn't just lose a skirmish. They lost an entire army which had to be evacuated piecemeal from France. Their army was beaten in Africa, in Greece, taken captive by the Japanese in Singapore. Had a foreign correspondent in London stated in 1940-1941 that the British were losing battle after battle because British troops were unwilling to fight under the unpopular and dictatorial government of Winston Churchill, and agitated for the overthrow of the Churchill government, that foreign correspondent would soon have found himself in Pentonville Prison as a Nazi agent.

The Diem government did what every government in the world would do: expelled Mr. Sully, a hostile foreign (French) citizen. On Sept. 5, 1962, President Diem received the following protest: "The United States alone is spending here more than one million dollars a day and has stationed 10,000 of its finest young men in Vietnam to aid this struggle. Expulsion of any correspondent can be only interpreted as an attempt to intimidate others, and can be regarded as contrary to the interest of free people everywhere. . ."

The protest was signed by Malcolm W. Browne for the Associated Press, Harold J. Schlechter for *Time* Magazine, Neil Sheehan for United Press International, Jacques Neward for the *New York Times,* Michael G. Renard for Columbia Broadcasting System, and David E. Hulson for the National Broadcasting Company.

. . . in Full Fury

These gentlemen acted as though they were the people who were spending more than one million dollars a day on Vietnam, as though they were the finest young American men fighting in Vietnam. They acted in total disregard of the fact that a government at war has the privilege and even the duty to expel any correspondent who agitates against and

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undermines it. The full fury of progressive Liberals was then unleashed.

In America, the director of the anti-Diem orchestra was the Communist *Worker*. Its arguments were soon being paralleled in the Liberal *Times*, the far-left *Nation*, the *New Republic*, and even by right-wing anti-Communists in the John Birch *American Opinion*.

On Dec. 16, 1962 I noticed a large photograph in the *Sydney Sun-Herald* of a frightened woman, baby in arms, facing a soldier whose gun was pointed at her. The caption indicated that the poor Vietnamese woman was being questioned by a Vietnamese soldier about the Communist activities of her husband.

Now there had been thousands of Vietnamese assassinated and mutilated by Vietcong Communist terrorists. But the American, Australian and other Western correspondents either did not move out of their comfortable cafés in Saigon to investigate this, or else did not consider it news. Communist murders of the innocent are indeed a case of dog bites man. But when an American ally gets rough with Communists it is a case of man bites dog, and news. I never saw a picture of a victim of the Vietcong published in the Australian or American press. But the photograph in the *Sun-Herald* reminded me of the Pfeffer story of the anti-Chiang demonstration in Nanking—and I wrote a letter:

Press Attaché Jan. 4, 1963
Embassy of Vietnam
39 National Circuit
Canberra, A.C.T.
Dear Sir:

In the *Sydney Sun-Herald* of Dec. 16, 1962, there was published a photograph "Face of Fear," which I am enclosing. On the same day I dispatched a letter to the editor of the *Sun-Herald*, asking him whether he would be kind enough to inform me the name of the woman in the photograph, when it was taken and where. I have never received any answer. Therefore, I am turning to you; it may be that the editor (if he ever received my letter) will treat your request with more respect than he treated mine. Would you be kind enough to ask the question which I asked and inform me as soon as possible of the result?

As I expected, the Liberal editor treated a demand from an Embassy with due respect and answered its letter by return mail. Here is the answer which the Embassy of Vietnam in Canberra kindly forwarded to me:

Jan. 8, 1963

Mr. Ngo Ton Dat
First Secretary
Embassy of Vietnam
Canberra, A.C.T.
Dear Sir:

I have your letter of Jan. 7 in reference to the photograph captioned "Face of Fear," which appeared in the *Sun-Herald* of Dec. 16.

The *Sun-Herald* received the photograph as an Associated Press wirephoto dated Dec. 14 from San Francisco.

It is possible that you could get more information from Associated Press either in Sydney or in New York.

Yours faithfully,
R. F. Peterson, Editor
The *Sun-Herald*

Needless to say we never discovered the name of the woman in the picture. The editor of the *Sun-Herald* does not hesitate to publish a picture he received from the Associated Press in San Francisco because it is from

AP. And any individual who suggests to an editor that something may not be so just because the Associated Press say that it is, will get only that contempt which he so richly deserves.

I followed the anti-Diem campaign closely, and wrote a number of letters. To Mr. Erwin Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, I wrote on April 4, 1963 to ask about a piece by his correspondent Saville R. Davis entitled, "A War Which is Political."

Mr. Davis had written: "The Communist guerrillas [in Vietnam] can enlarge their power only if food and information are received from the villagers. These are received today because enough Vietnamese are exceedingly angry with the Diem regime, an anger which is carefully encouraged by the Communists to induce them to become revolutionists."

SEATO, I pointed out to Mr. Canham, in a report published January 1963 had stated: "The Vietcong have been able to meet much of their needs for military and other supplies from within their assigned regions. Supplies and funds to buy supplies have been gained through military actions, collecting 'taxes,' kidnaping for ransom, robbery, rice seizures and other illegal actions." Either SEATO is not telling the truth, I wrote, or Mr. Saville R. Davis is not.

Mr. Davis had written further: "Since the army finds sullen villagers and does not know which are pro-Communists and which are merely dissatisfied with Saigon, and since the army must do its job, it shoots anyone seen running or looking dangerous and often shoots the wrong peasants."

Was your reporter an eye-witness to such an incident? I asked Mr. Canham. If so, would he be willing to inform us in which locality it happened and when? If not, would he be prepared to state who supplied him with this information?

To these and other questions, Mr. Canham replied, in a letter of April 10, 1963:

"Mr. Saville Davis, who wrote the articles you discuss, is our chief editorial writer, and a person of long, studious experience as a foreign correspondent. He has made two extended visits in Southeast Asia in recent years. His sources there and in Washington are first-rate. They lead him to different conclusions than you have reached, and this is natural in the face of highly controversial people and things."

Obviously Mr. Canham did not answer a single one of my questions. He ignored the facts I had brought to his attention and gave me only the bland assurance that Mr. Davis'

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"sources in Vietnam and in Washington [were] first-rate." He did not mention what or who were these first-rate sources.

Having had the opportunity to observe the "long, studious experience" of progressive Western correspondents and politicians since 1936, I know how they work. A progressive correspondent or politician going to Vietnam (or China, or Korea) knows in advance that the U.S. ally in question is corrupt, dictatorial, fascist. He knows it from first-rate sources in the *New York Times*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic* and finally the most authoritative source, the Associated Press. Apart from these presuppositions, he has no idea about the country he is about to visit, its history, economic and social conditions. He is traveling there in order to confirm everything that he learned from his first-rate sources in the United States.

Strange as it may seem, all the sources from which these first-rate sources of the progressive journalists get their information seem to originate in Moscow. What we read today about the strategic hamlets, I read a year ago in the Czech and Russian Communist press. From there it is repeated in the American Communist *Worker*, picked up by fellow travelers and their distinguished dupes and eventually transmitted to respectable non-Communist papers and finally repeated, parrot-fashion, by the Liberal journalists, who look upon anyone who disagrees with their analysis as a nascent, or full-fledged fascist.

A Political Primitive

But to return to Diem. Until 1954 Vietnam had, for centuries, been ruled by foreigners. In '54, when the country became independent, Diem had to organize all elements of its administration from scratch. South Vietnam is only ten years old now and its administration suffers from many shortcomings. But in the larger picture it must be admitted that Diem deserves full credit for what he did accomplish. He forced through a land reform and set up agricultural cooperatives to extend credit to the peasants and keep them out of the hands of the money lenders. He managed to resettle the nearly two million North Vietnamese who had fled South at the time of the partition and to increase food production. He eliminated bribery by imposing the death penalty for offenders, and he organized the first real national army. Even the most progressive of Western Liberals would admit that he was personally absolutely incorruptible. Only now that he is dead do those who killed him threaten to try him for corruption.

But Diem, like so many other Asian anti-Communists, was a political

Ngo Dinh Diem

primitive when it came to understanding political conditions in America and the role of pressure groups in a Western democracy.

He frankly hoped to carry his message to the world through the establishment of embassies in 44 countries. He never organized an effective information service and never understood that this function was essential. There was, to be sure, in Saigon, a director of information, but he had no idea of what that meant. Every month he published bundles of magazines and booklets, of great interest to the people of Vietnam, and utterly useless to any foreigner interested in the country. This official stupidly angered many foreign correspondents, even some of those friendly to the government.

As an example. In December 1962, I asked the Vietnam information service for a biography of the Vietcong Communist Gen. Giap which I needed for a research project. No answer. I asked the Vietnamese Embassy in Canberra to press the matter. They did. They wrote letters, they wired, more letters, more wires. Three months later, I got a twelve-line letter from Saigon, in French, informing me when Giap was born and what his functions were in North Vietnam. The information director in Saigon probably had no idea what a biography meant, and certainly he had no archives and no material on anything, or anybody. Diem's information service was a danger to the regime and it was his own fault that it was not improved. An American offered to organize an effective information service, but Diem refused the offer. He felt his actions would speak for themselves. After all, he had direct contact with the President of the United States and President Kennedy had pledged U.S. assistance to Vietnam. What reason was there for him to worry about an information service, or to spend money on it?

Ho Chi Minh doesn't make this mistake. He is not worried about establishing embassies and wasting money on them. He knows that official propaganda is always ineffective. What need for him to appoint ambassadors when the Liberals will carry the ball for him, unaware that they are Communist dupes? Unlike Diem and so many other non-Communist Asian leaders, Ho knows all about the mechanisms of democracy. No matter what the President, or the Senate or the Secretary of State may think, or wish, they must have the votes to remain in office and if the progressives and Liberals can succeed in inciting public opinion against a Diem (or any other American ally against Communism), then that ally must inevitably be deposed.

Deceiving Subtleties

It's as simple as that, but still completely incomprehensible to most Asian anti-Communists. They cannot understand that the struggle against hidden Communist propaganda in the U.S. is as important, and sometimes even more important, than their struggle to contain Communism militarily. They do not know that their very existence hangs on the unchallenged strength of what might be dubbed the "U.S. Mafia for Protection of Castros."

There were, of course, also unbiased, objective American reporters on the scene. In September 1963, the *Herald Tribune* published a series of articles on Vietnam by Marguerite Higgins. She probably knew as little about Vietnam at the start as Averell Harriman or Henry Cabot Lodge, but she made the trip in order to find

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The Case of the Courteous Candidate Who Saved Our Way of Life

Roger L. Draftcaut who was elected President by the very thin
margin of a single vote
In a contest where sixty-five million, seven hundred twenty
three thousand, nine hundred and six tot
Al ballots were cast,
Was soon after ast
By an unreconciled commentator who, furthermore, saw a news
story in it
How it felt for him to win it.
And Draftcaut to his eternal credit
Sedit
Only goes to show what the single vote can do
And any man can say to me, why I elected you!
And then the newsman who smelled his story
Thinking it (as some men will) the greater glory,
Slyly asked him did he vote and if he did for who (he should
have said, of course, for whom)
Because from a college course he had in Government-3 he knew,
Besides other data,
That anybody who puts himself in office is a dictator.
And President Draftcaut who actually voted for his opponent
in a typical gesture of *noblesse oblige* was shaken
to soul-bottom by the questions but collected himself
and said (in the unaffected manner of one who had
left college as a Frosh):
"Gosh!"

JOHANNES EFF

out. When she wrote about strategic hamlets, she gave names and details. She described what she saw and whom she talked to and not what she heard from disgruntled intellectuals in Saigon.

From her simple narrative it is obvious that the so-called peasant revolt against Diem's regime simply was not so; it was a falsehood spread by Liberal journalists. Anyone who knows anything about guerrilla warfare should know, without traveling to Vietnam, that the Vietnamese peasants must by now be thoroughly sick of guerrillas.

Guerrillas have to pillage in order to live. And in a small country such as Vietnam, three years of guerrilla warfare means constant pillaging. A village which has been raided two or three times in a year has nothing to eat. The peasants come to regard the terrorists as a scourge, not salvation. Miss Higgins probably came close to the true feeling when she reported that a peasant from one strategic hamlet complained about the distance he had to walk to reach his fields every morning, but added that he was happy to be able to raise his crops and live in peace at night within the confines of the hamlet.

Miss Higgins also informed her readers about the great work many Americans were doing in Vietnam. She told of Maj. Robert J. Kelly who is patiently teaching Vietnamese peasants how to improve their agriculture and of many other Maj. Kellys in Vietnam, whose work was never noticed by the average progressive journalist, caught up as he was in the crusade against the Diem regime. But the reports of Marguerite Higgins, Joseph Alsop and a handful of others could not avert the tragedy.

The stage was set for the final act with the entry of the Buddhists. A Buddhist monk burned himself to death inside a pagoda compound in Hué in protest against Diem's regime. To immolate oneself is not a strange phenomenon in Buddhist countries, but this particular case was just what Ho needed to shock the Liberal West into action. Make no mistake about it. The Western press on its own would hardly have noticed an Asian fanatic burning himself alive (has there been any publicity on the eight Buddhists who have committed suicide in Vietnam since Nov. 1?). But these burnings occurred at the end of a continuous and progressive two-year smear campaign against Diem and his family. Suddenly people in the West who had no idea where Vietnam was, or what Buddhism is, began to believe that something really must be seriously wrong with the Diem regime.

On May 8, eight persons were killed in a religious riot in the provincial capital of Hué. On June 11, the Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc set fire to himself on a street in Saigon and every paper in the world carried the picture. A week later, a full page advertisement appeared in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, signed by the Rev. Donald Harrington and Co., urging the United States to withdraw aid from the "unjust, undemocratic and unstable regime of President Diem." On the night of August 24, 1963, Assistant Secretary of State Roger Hilsman, in a publicized cable, appealed, in effect, to the Vietnamese army to overthrow the government. U.S. military authorities in Washington and Vietnam were not informed. The incident was hushed up. But the Vietnamese army had gotten the message. It was being told that U.S. assistance, without which South Vietnam would fall, would be withheld in the future unless the Ngo family was deposed. Three months later the generals revolted and assassinated President Diem and his brother. American authorities in Saigon stood on the sideline, doing nothing, careful not "to interfere in the internal affairs" of another nation. The State Department professed to be shocked at the murders—but recognized the new government anyway.

"Operation Diem" accomplished.

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Principles and Heresies

Goldwater: The Home Stretch

FRANK S. MEYER

OREGON is behind us; and Rockefeller, rising from the dead, has captured 33 per cent of its vote. Like New Hampshire, it was a famous victory. Oregon gave him 18 delegates, as New Hampshire gave Lodge 14, with just about the same proportion of the popular vote. The victories pile up: The *New York Times* found Lodge impressive with one-tenth of the Texas vote; Mrs. Smith was the Heroine of Illinois with one-quarter of the vote, and Stassen the hero of Indiana with the same fraction. (Wallace, of course, did very, very badly indeed in Indiana with only 30 per cent of the Democratic vote.) Goldwater completely flopped with one-half of Nebraska and two-thirds to three-quarters of Indiana, Illinois and Texas.

Meyer

It all depends on how you look at it; it all depends on how sophisticated you are. Two-thirds to three-quarters of the votes of states with 32 to 58 delegates is a defeat; one-third of the vote of states with fourteen or eighteen delegates is a massive victory. When you have to prove that Goldwater—no matter how many delegates he has—can't win the votes of the people, couldn't possibly defeat Johnson, you have to be very sophisticated indeed.

NOW THAT the press and television have waked up to the fact that Goldwater already holds close to a majority of the Republican delegates, we no longer hear, as we did last fall and after New Hampshire, that he hasn't a chance of the nomination. Now, all the enlighteners of the American public—who will vote Democratic in November but who are passionately distressed about the fate of the Republican Party in June—are zeroing in on their new target: maybe Goldwater can get a majority of the delegates, but look, he can't impress the voters, so how can he beat Johnson?

If you put Illinois and Texas and Indiana against New Hampshire and Oregon, the whole argument collapses. The cold, hard facts are that not only has Goldwater something like 575 probable votes on the first ballot, without California, and 75 or more in reserve among delegates initially pledged to favorite sons. *He has also been the outstanding vote-getter in every preferential primary he has entered in a major state.* Further, he has achieved this against opponents whose only hope has been a primary strategy, and in spite of the concentration of his own basic strategy not upon primaries, but upon securing delegates.

Against this "delegate strategy" the stop-Goldwater coalition is trying to force a double play. California is their last hope—and not only to prevent Goldwater's winning its 86 delegates and clinching a majority on the first ballot. If the developing gang-up of all his rivals, backed by the unlimited financial resources of the House of Rockefeller, focused on an end-of-the-campaign saturation blitz, should succeed in denying him California, they hope to gain much more than that. Building on the distortion of previous primary results which I have been discussing, they hope conclusively to establish the myth that Goldwater cannot win votes, and so to tear away from him already committed delegates.

Their strategy is a mirror trick. It can only succeed on two conditions. First, they have to win California. Second, and much more important, they have to make their interpretation of the previous primaries stick. Specifically, they have to give such life to this myth that it affects delegates already leaning to Goldwater. Unless they can do that, the entire strategy collapses. And to do that depends upon putting over such absurdities as that a vote of 33 per cent for Rockefeller is of political significance in a state that sends to the Senate Wayne Morse (ADA, 100 per cent; AFL-CIO, 100 per cent; ACA, 4 per cent) and Maurine Neuberger (ADA, 100 per cent; AFL-CIO, 100 per cent; ACA, 0 per cent). This, against the factual truth that Goldwater holds an absolute majority over all—Lodge, Nixon, Rockefeller and Scranton together—when the total primary vote to date is added up.

NOR IS this the whole story of Goldwater's vote-getting potential. In the primaries it is Goldwater against the field. When it comes to the November election, he will be pitted against a single man, Lyndon Johnson, and the results of that election will have no relation to the sentiments expressed in the honeymoon polls of the past few months. It will depend upon the ability of the Republican candidate to expose the confusions and the contradictions of the Johnson Administration: the effort to pose both as the symbol of prosperity and as the savior of the country from abject poverty; the double-faced stance of wooing the South and wooing the Negro revolution, with its effective encouragement of both sides to violence; the utter confusion of an Administration which tries to conceal its lack of a foreign policy by proudly proclaiming that it has 120 different foreign policies.

It is a record that can be torn to shreds by the Republican candidate—if, and only if, he stands on a firm platform of opposition to the Administration's demagogy, domestic and foreign; if, and only if, he has the fighting spirit to drive home his position and expose the irresponsibility of the Johnson Administration. But, of all the Republicans who are seeking the nomination, Barry Goldwater alone has these qualifications.

His support in the Republican Party is based on this. It is because they understand this that the delegates to San Francisco will see through the distortions of his opponents, shatter their strategy, and nominate him for the Presidency of the United States.

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Primary Report

The Northern California Story

JOHN CARAVAN

Senator Goldwater is winning in California in spite of a herky-jerky campaign. He has acquired the finesse which makes him thoroughly engaging on the hustings. His speeches have slowly improved, though his scattershot approach still lacks impact and eloquence. He is more at home here than back East, and the chemical reaction between himself and his audiences shows it.

Northern California is Goldwater's incubus. In fact, if it were not for the steaming campaign in the Los Angeles area, his position would be precarious. San Francisco is anything but Goldwater territory, and Alameda County, across the bay, is even less so. In Oakland and Berkeley the remnants of the Earl Warren machine and the ideological emanations from the University of California militate against conservative politics.

The peninsula counties, ranging south from San Francisco, also appear to be in the Rockefeller bailiwick, although strong conservative juices are percolating there. San Francisco's *Chronicle,* which drenches Northern California, is vehemently anti-Goldwater both on its editorial pages and off. Hearst's *Examiner* and *News Call Bulletin* are a mite friendlier, but far from conservative organs. Over in Oakland, the *Tribune,* which is edited by Goldwater's campaign chief, William F. Knowland, remains curiously neutral or even slightly Liberal, which may be one of the reasons why Alameda County runs Democratic nearly two-to-one.

Goldwater's California press genius, Charlie Horn, is now making sure that reporters are well pampered and lavishly supplied with position papers and speech transcripts. This was not always the case. Earlier in the campaign, the Goldwater entourage managed to bruise reporters' sensibilities with almost diabolical frequency. The Senator himself radically improved the situation by engaging the reporters in numerous off-the-record bull sessions, usually while enroute.

As much as the local reporters like Goldwater personally (in contrast to Nixon) they remain generally hostile to his views. The *Examiner's* Sid Kossen and the *Chronicle's* Earl Behrens have both mangled some of Goldwater's salient points. The press curtain has made it unusually difficult for Goldwater to convey his ideas to rank and file Republican voters. There is something of a communications gap between the Senator and California Republicans.

Part of the communications trouble, however, may lie with Goldwater himself. Apparently his domestic positions got lashed so badly in New Hampshire that he decided to concentrate on general foreign policy questions out here, with the exception of the Baker case. As a result, he seems to be ducking discussion of domestic gut issues.

North Slower than South

Goldwater's money situation is barely adequate. He plans to spend about $1.25 million in California, penny ante stuff when compared to the Rockefeller outlay.

Most of the Goldwater people are dedicated volunteers, unlike Rocky's highly paid organizers. Northern California has been much slower than the south to respond to Goldwater's money pleas. A recent fund raising dinner in Los Angeles netted nearly half a million dollars, while a similar dinner in San Francisco netted only about $100,000.

Governor Rockefeller's two-pronged strategy is designed, on the one hand, to alienate Goldwater from the moderates, and on the other hand, to fish in ethnic and minority waters for votes which normally go to the Democrats. Both the governor and his lieutenants continually raise the "extremist" issue, charging that the California GOP is falling into the clutches of the Birchers; that the Goldwater ranks are riddled with radical rightists; that Goldwater's ideals fall outside the mainstream of Republican philosophy.

Rocky's other strategy is to divest the Democrats of their Negro votes. Rockefeller delegations and committees have extraordinarily high percentages of Negro members. Rocky has given repeated and conspicuous support to a controversial state open housing act, and to federal civil rights legislation. He has addressed Negro groups whenever possible, and with telling effect. In general, however, his racial strategy is not so effective as his witch-hunt strategy.

While the Birch issue has been exaggerated back East, it nonetheless exists in California, exacerbated by the fanaticism of a few local chapters. Most of the trouble comes not from the Democrats, but from the Liberal Kuchel wing of the party, which loathes the right wing much more than it loathes the Democrats. California's former national committeeman, Joe Martin Jr., virtually split the party with a furious assault against the Goldwater forces. The GOP left is using the rule-or-ruin tactic so blatantly that one wonders if Goldwater can count on its support if he wins the nomination. The GOP split is ideological, and thus graver than the personality struggle within the state Democratic party. In any case, the Goldwater campaign is firmly in the hands of non-Birch conservatives in this state.

William Knowland's fine statesmanship has lured the great bulk of the Nixon Republican apparat into the Goldwater camp. But Knowland has not been adequate as a communicator. His speeches say much too little about Goldwater's ideals, Goldwater the man, or the conservative renovation of the party. They tend to be confined either to unity pleas, or predictions of a 500,000 vote Goldwater victory. The Goldwater camp could make much better use of Knowland's natural political genius than it has.

The question is not so much whether Goldwater will win in California but whether he will be able to win in a manner that puts him in good shape for November. The California campaign has shown that if Goldwater is to make a good showing in November there must be an improvement in public relations, in communications and in strategy.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Campus Conservative Journals

During the past six years, the intellectual power of conservatively-inclined college students has increased noticeably. A generation ago, such student-edited monthlies and quarterlies as existed were—without exception, I think—the production of young people of the Left. Nowadays the field of serious undergraduate journalism is dominated by the conservatives, who have more than a dozen respectable publications at present.

Kirk

A digest of the better articles from these magazines is published twice a year by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (629 Public Ledger Building, Philadelphia 6). It is called *Under 30,* and subscriptions cost a dollar; readers will be impressed.

Below I catalog, roughly in order of seniority, the chief journals of student conservatism that have come to my attention.

Insight and Outlook (Conservative Club, University of Wisconsin). Editor, Richard Fischer. 150 Langdon Street, Madison, Wisconsin. Published three times a semester.

New Individualist Review (University of Chicago Chapter of ISI). Editors, Ronald Hamowy and Ralph Raico. Ida Noyes Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago 37. Published quarterly, $2 a year, $1 to students.

Analysis (Philadelphia colleges). Editor, W. H. Regnery. The Eleutherian Society, Box 7841, Philadelphia 1. Eight issues a year, $3, $2 to students.

Foundation (Columbia University). Editor, Edward J. Bell. 2659 Kingsbridge Terrace, Bronx 63, N. Y. Quarterly.

The Harvard Conservative. Editor, William C. Wooldridge. The Charles River Literary Society, Eliot B-12, Harvard College, Cambridge 38, Mass. Quarterly, $1 a year.

The Liberator (six Louisiana universities and colleges). Editor, Benjamin C. Toledano. 1402 Jefferson Avenue, New Orleans 12. Published irregularly, $2 a year.

The Southern Conservative (Washington and Lee). Editor, Robert F. Sykes. Conservative Society of Washington and Lee University, P.O. Box 500, Lexington, Virginia. $2.50 a year.

Man and State (California universities and colleges). Editor, John G. Miles Jr. University Society of Individualists, Box 664, Berkeley 1, California. $2 a year, $1 for students.

Libertas (Villanova University). Editor, Anthony Cazzarro. P.O. Box 739, Villanova, Pennsylvania.

Comment and Outlook (Brown University). W. M. Northwood, Jr., editor. Faunce House, Brown University, Providence 12, Rhode Island.

The Conservative Review (New York City colleges). Editors, Charles Barr, Thomas Coffee Jr., and Frank Annunziata. 7812 45th Avenue, New York City 73.

Politeia (New Jersey colleges). Editor, Martin Arbagi. Box 372, Somerset, New Jersey. Quarterly, $2 a year, students $1.

Probably there are other journals I have not yet seen. In addition to these college-connected publications, there exist national journals written chiefly by, or intended for, conservative students or recent graduates. One is *The New Guard,* the magazine of Young Americans for Freedom, edited by Donald J. Lambro, monthly, $4 a year; it is published at 514 "C" Street, Washington, D. C. The other is *Campus Report,* the bulletin of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, whose address was mentioned above; ISI also publishes a small magazine, *The Individualist,* edited by Robert Ritchie.

Of all these reviews, the newest, *Politeia,* is particularly promising. It is a cooperative venture of students at Princeton, Rutgers, Seton Hall University, Fairleigh Dickinson University, and Douglass College, with Rutgers as the prime mover. The first issue includes Boris Souvarine's article, "Where Khrushchev Stands," Frank Coakley's "The Captive Nations *Inside* the USSR," Michael Anthony Pane's "The Revolutionary Role of the Peasantry in Mao and Lenin," and Kurt Christopher Bauer's "Senator Joseph McCarthy: Folklore and Scholarship." It has also a perceptive review of Voegelin's *Ideology and Gnosis,* by Georg von Winckler.

In general, these publications offer much for the mind, and often contain remarkably good writing. (*The Liberator* is to be particularly commended for its style.)

Many of these magazines have had, from the first, links with the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists—a body much more intelligent than its somewhat unfortunate name may suggest. Indeed, the ISI, over the past decade, has produced a body of "alumni," whom it is now encouraging to join a new society of "young scholars" (as distinguished from graduate students), many of them college instructors; it is called the Philadelphia Society, and its principles are similar to those of the international Mont Pelerin Society, founded in 1947. This new organization held April meetings in both Indianapolis and Philadelphia; inquiries should be addressed to ISI headquarters.

The influence of Edmund Burke is strong among the conservative student journalists, and some undergraduates belong to the Edmund Burke Society, headed by Professor Peter Stanlis, of the Department of English at the University of Detroit. This latter Society's *Burke Newsletter* (quarterly, $2 a year) is a learned publication of the University of Detroit Press (McNichols Road, Detroit, Michigan), with an international circulation.

Already several former editors of conservative student publications have taken posts as editors and editorial writers on big daily newspapers—which may make the tone of editorials in the dailies somewhat more thoughtful and politically more sensible. In the long run, as a friend of Irving Babbitt said once, intelligence tells—even in a university.

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Hemingway's Code

JEFFREY HART

Somewhere in our minds, rescued from time, most of us have an ideal Paris in which people like Hemingway and Joyce, Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound, and Ford Madox Ford, sip cognac at the Dôme, or walk by the Seine among the bookstalls, or meet at Sylvia Beach's bookshop. It is the Paris of the early twenties, where so many of the great books and poems of our time were being written. Hemingway evokes it here in what, in its special way, is one of his most moving and beautifully written books.

We find that Paris here, but also Hemingway himself, at a time when he was living a kind of ideal literary life, very poor, and sometimes even hungry, but confident of his powers, learning from books and from Pound and Stein, alive in all his senses, and writing his early stories—sometimes writing at a cafe table, sometimes in his chilly room, sometimes at the Voralberg in the Austrian Alps where he went with his new wife on skiing excursions. Though he writes of all this forty years later, he can make one feel how it was, then, to experience Paris for the first time:

> We had oysters and *crabe Mexicaine* with glasses of Sancerre. We walked back through the Tuileries in the dark and stood and looked through the Arc du Carrousel up across the dark gardens with the lights of the Concorde behind the formal darkness and then the long rise of lights toward the Arc de Triomphe.

Hemingway can be devastatingly funny, too, or just and affectionate, as to Pound, or cruel, as to Wyndham Lewis, but even the malice of a man as intelligent as Hemingway is redeemed by the fact that it often rises to insight. His longest section, on Scott Fitzgerald, is a small masterpiece, a strange mixture of the outrageous and the marvelous, darkening at moments with the awareness of Zelda's insanity:

> Zelda was very beautiful and was tanned a lovely gold color and her hair was a beautiful dark gold and she was very friendly. Her hawk's eyes were clear and calm . . . when she leaned forward and said to me, telling me her great secret, "Ernest, don't you think Al Jolson is greater than Jesus?"

A book as good as *A Moveable Feast*, contradicting as it does all those theories about the decline of Hemingway's powers, is bound to return attention to his actual achievement, and if one is to think seriously about Hemingway, the natural way to begin would be with what is most distinctive and memorable about him, his style.

A Moveable Feast, by Ernest Hemingway. Scribner's, $4.95

HEMINGWAY once remarked that what is best in American writing derives from the prose spoken by Huck Finn, and when we listen to Huck's language, earthy, circumstantial, "uneducated," it is easy enough to see what Hemingway valued in it and learned from it. Yet we cannot understand the full meaning of Hemingway's comment unless we remember, as Lionel Trilling has pointed out, that Huck's prose is a kind of "moral symbol." It presents itself as the antithesis of the language of another character in the book, the Widow Douglas, and, implicitly, criticizes what she embodies—the pious, the respectable, the well-intentioned. Huck, in contrast, sees the world as it really is. "And Woodrow Wilson" —I quote from Trilling—"was Hemingway's Widow Douglas."

On the one hand, in 1917, there was the rhetoric of good intentions, all the talk of a war to end wars, self-determination, and a world safe for democracy; but on the other, the facts as experienced by the men who actually went there. Now we know from Charles Fenton's valuable book on Hemingway's early years, and from stories like "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," that Hemingway's home town, Oak Park, Illinois—upper middle-class in character, its Liberal Protestantism just at the point of dissolving into sentiment and moralism —was precisely the sort of place that would be most susceptible to Wilsonian moralism and uplift. As a matter of fact, according to one of his friends in the ambulance corps, Hemingway himself arrived in Italy "extremely conscious of the war as a 'crusade for democracy,' and burning with a desire to have a share in it."

This rhetoric of good intentions invited, at the very least, correction through exposure to fact, and the prose style shaped by Hemingway's war experience aims at the presentation of such fact—or, more precisely, by its special procedures, it recalls us to an awareness of the *importance* of fact:

> They shot the six cabinet ministers at half-past six in the morning against the wall of a hospital. There were pools of water in the courtyard.
>
> Everybody was drunk. The whole battery was drunk going along the road.
>
> I knew that I was hit and leaned over and put my hand on my knee. My knee wasn't there.

Notice how a fact is used to puncture rhetoric—a typical device—in this beaut about the Spanish Civil War:

> Gaylord's was the place where you met famous peasant and worker Spanish commanders who had sprung to arms from the people at the start of

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the war without any previous military training and found that many of them spoke Russian.

But if Hemingway's style calls attention to the importance, even the primacy, of fact, it does a number of other things as well. He is forced to complicate Mark Twain's attack on respectable cant because the experience with which he deals is so much more drastic. It may be useful to put the matter in sociological terms. Mark Twain had attacked the middle-class uplift of the Widow Douglas by bringing to bear upon it what we might call Huck Finn's lower-class facts, presenting them in an earthy, deliberately "uneducated" style. Similarly, Hemingway brings to bear on Wilsonian uplift the facts carried by the vocabulary of infantrymen, prizefighters, newspapermen, and gangsters. But the experience of those facts is so painful that mere *presentation* is not enough. It is not enough to recognize that the rhetoric of Woodrow Wilson or the moral expectations of Oak Park, Illinois, stand in an absurd relationship to the world as it is.

There must be a way of meeting, or, if you will, of enduring, those facts. And so Hemingway combines his lower-class vocabulary with a discipline that is essentially aristocratic, involving as it does the use of manners—most importantly, British irony and understatement—to deal with such emotions as terror and disgust. (The photographs in *A Moveable Feast* show Hemingway as looking oddly British in the early twenties, and confirm Ford's description of him as having "rather the aspect of an Eton-Oxford husky-ish young captain from an English midland regiment.")

If this sense of the uses to which a code of manners may be put has a literary source, we may look to Kipling, whom Hemingway admired intensely. At any rate, Hemingway brings into American literature, perhaps for the first time, what is recognizable as the classic *Tory* strategy, to be found also in Swift and Yeats, which combines upper and lower against middle, noble and peasant against those paradoxical cousins, the climber and the moral idealist.

The story is well known of how Hemingway received over two hundred wounds from machine gun and mortar fire on the Italian front in 1918, yet it is manifest that the trauma of the war was more than physical. "I can remember feeling so awful about the war," he told an interviewer in 1950, "that I couldn't write about it for ten years. The wound combat makes in you, as a writer, is a very slow healing one." The war was a moral trauma, indeed a moral revelation. It presented him with a range of experience that was beyond the grasp of respectable, progressive America. And he saw that because respectable, progressive America habitually employed idealistic abstractions to protect itself from the facts of the war, it was also helpless in dealing with the kind of experience epitomized by the war but prominent in the rest of life as well. The wife in "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," who lies neurotically in a dark, shuttered room, simply will not believe in human selfishness and aggression. Turning away from actuality, she, like the idealistic statesmen who went to Versailles and then to Geneva, is to be perpetually surprised by events.

The disciplined irony and understatement of Hemingway's prose, then, is his equivalent, as a writer,

Random Notes

● MOVIES: Three new castings for Dino de Laurentiis' *The Bible:* Richard Harris as Cain (whom *Variety* calls "the original heavy"), George Scott as Abraham, and Peter O'Toole as Nimrod (Genesis 10:8-9). . . . Laird Cregar's grand old thriller of two decades ago, *The Lodger* (based on Marie Belloc-Lowndes' novel about Jack the Ripper) has been re-made as *The Strangler* and is about the Boston stocking man instead of the redoubtable Jack. Victor Buono plays the fat man with the shifty eyes (plays with dolls, too) and all the doings are blamed, of course, on Mama . . . 20th Century-Fox has put together a twenty-six minute documentary on MacArthur, narrated by Lowell Thomas . . . Gore Vidal, who has just seen *The Best Man* through the cameras, plots to make a film about "the right wing-left wing controversy," which no one as yet seems to be interested to produce . . . Spyros Skouras and Sam Bronston both turned down a project by Diko Dimitroff, *The Loves of the Greek Gods*, but the movie's being shot anyway. Interiors in Spain, exteriors in Greece . . . Practically all film companies are now signed up for inflight movies (Warner Bros. and Disney have declined). Cost is $25,000 per plane. No film depicting or even mentioning a crash is allowed, and cancellations because the passenger has seen the inflight feature, according to Dave Moffett of TWA, are becoming common. And Russell Downing of Radio City Music Hall has already complained of travelers arriving in New York with their urge to take in a movie satisfied.

● AMERICANA: Carleton Beals, the biographer and sometimes friend (she was his baby sitter) of Carry Nation, has written a musical comedy about the hatchet-bearer.

● PRIZES: The American Academy of Arts and Letters Award of Merit goes this year to John O'Hara.

● BOOKS: Frank Baum's *The Wizard of Oz*, now 64 years old, gets a deluxe edition (Bobbs-Merrill, the original publishers), but with Evelyn Copelman's illustrations rather than those of W. W. Denslow . . . *Six Modern Italian Novellas*, edited by the translator of Petronius, William Arrowsmith (who has also translated for this volume Mario Tobino's *Oscar Pilli*), is an original paperback (Pocket Books, 50¢) done by five top-rate writers, a bargain and an act of critical importance. . . . And the *London Daily Mail* notes solemnly that the prose of Mr. John Lennon, in the Beatle's *In His Own Write*, is influenced by "the late James Joyce."

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—Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

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for the various codes and disciplines his fictional characters employ in their encounters with experience. The codes of the bullfighter and the big-game hunter may indeed be taken as exemplary, but only if we remember that the wild beasts Hemingway confronts are inside his head.

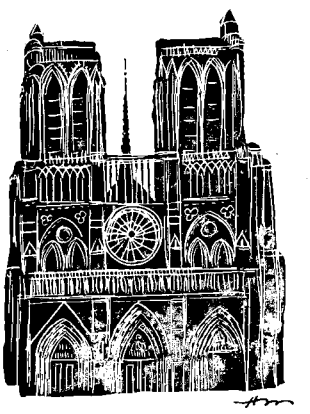
The code, though, won't always do. Malcolm Cowley was right when he described Hemingway as one of the "haunted and nocturnal" writers, akin in temper to Hawthorne and Melville, for a careful reading of his work reveals that though he knows the value of discipline he also knows its limits. The surgeon in "Indian Camp" does not listen to the screams, and the "clean well-lighted place" has the power to hold *nada*, nothingness, at bay—but the *nada* and the screams are *there*, part of actuality, just as death is always there, sharpening the edges of Hemingway's words, forcing things to be themselves because they cannot possibly be anything else.

The sharpness of the edge between existence and non-existence: perhaps that is why Hemingway was so much drawn to Spain, where every hill and building is sharply itself in the dry air. Still, the sustaining discipline is always a contingent thing, subject to circumstances. Hemingway's own discipline, the way of meeting experience that we see reflected in his prose, almost, but not quite, got him through his experience. But the fact that in 1961 he could not get through it would not have come as a complete surprise to him.

Death of God in Modern Theology

HAROLD O. J. BROWN

While the general lay Christian reading public has an idea that Bonhoeffer, Bultmann, and Tillich have been saying deep and profound things about the Christian faith, the obscurity and inaccessibility of their real meaning has minimized the effect of their writing. It has remained for a former Cambridge University don, sometime New Testament scholar, and present bishop of Woolwich, Dr. John A. T. Robinson, to make their implications clear to the general public. That the general public is hungry for some kind of clarification of Christian concepts has been clearly indicated by the phenomenal sale, for a theological work, of his 141-page paperback *Honest to God*, which was the best-selling non-fiction work in England in 1963. Although in America the promotional value of having a bishop of the established church "publicly demonstrate that he is not a Christian" (London *Times*) is lacking, the American edition is also selling well.



Honest to God, by John A. T. Robinson. Westminster, $1.65 (paper)

Curiously, but typically enough, the interest in *Honest to God* and its author is being promoted by the clergy rather than by laymen. The book has been made the "Bible study and discussion" text for faculty members this year at Northfield School for Girls in Massachusetts, an institution founded by the American evangelist D. L. Moody. It is informative to contrast the difference in the welcome accorded Dr. Billy Graham at Harvard in February with that prepared for Dr. Robinson's visit in May. Dr. Graham, who is nothing if not orthodox in the traditional sense of the word (*i.e.*, believing literally in the orthodox, ecumenical creeds—the Apostles', Nicene, and Chalcedonian—of the Christian church), found a distinctly positive, if somewhat wary welcome from the Roman Catholics, who are compelled from the logic of their position to greet any orthodox Christian as a brother and friend in the relativistic, largely atheistic or agnostic climate of Cambridge. The majority of the Protestant ministry, with two notable exceptions, were either downright hostile to him, denouncing him from

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his own platform in the course of their "introductions" and in the student *Crimson,* or at best frigidly neutral. He received no opportunity to speak in the Harvard Memorial Church, and it was made abundantly clear that the United Ministry at Harvard and Radcliffe neither supported, endorsed, nor approved of him. Robinson's arrival in May, however, was for the first "United Ministry Forum," with University Preacher Charles Price announcing "full cooperation."

What is this *Honest to God,* to become a best-seller in England and to receive the enthusiatic promotion of a large number of American churchmen and theologians? Simply stated, it is the popularization of the theology of Tillich, Bultmann, and Bonhoeffer, chiefly that of Tillich. *Honest to God* takes Christian doublethink out of the seminaries and puts it into the parishes. (A few years ago the present dean of an Eastern school of theology remarked in class, "When I am in church, I talk about God. When I am with you, I say 'ultimate concern.'")

First, following Bultmann and Tillich, he seeks to pin on the Bible and historic Christianity the concept of a three-storey universe: Heaven above, earth in the middle, and Hell below. Certainly such a view is found in mediaeval woodcuts, but hardly in the teachings either of the first Christian thinkers, such as Justin Martyr, a converted pagan philosopher, Irenaeus of Lyons, or the great Alexandrian Christian scholars Clement and Origen, or of the mediaeval theologians like Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas. In his chapter on Jesus Christ he charges that historic orthodoxy implies that "Jesus was not really one of us; but through the miracle of the Virgin Birth he contrived to be born so as to appear one of us." This entirely overlooks the first four centuries of Christian thought culminating in the Creed of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) with its clarion assertion that Jesus Christ is perfect man, in all things like unto us.

After presenting this caricature of Biblical and Christian thought, and

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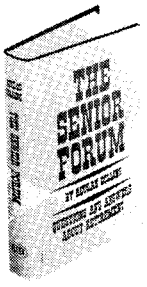

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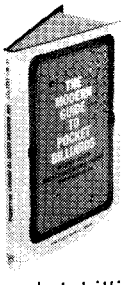

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stating that it is obviously unacceptable to modern man, Robinson suggests in place of the God of the Bible Tillich's ground of being: "The name of this infinite and inexhaustible depth and ground of all being is *God*. That depth is what the word *God* means . . . He who knows about depth knows about God." His second chapter, "The End of Theism?", makes it clear that God can no longer be considered in any sense personal. While it may be true enough that Christians tend to limit their concept of God by drawing too close an analogy with themselves as persons, this danger is certainly less destructive than Tillich's and Robinson's alternative, which is to deprive God of personality. The God of the Bible is at the very least as personal as we are. Tillich repudiates this concept of God, although ambiguously. Robinson's repudiation is unambiguous.

With the loss of any concept that God is personal, three basic dimensions of historic Christian thought disappear: revelation, relationship, and responsibility. Revelation, as a personal communication from God to man of something of His nature, will, and love, disappears, because, while a personal God might conceivably have something to say to His creatures, the impersonal "ground of all being" neither can nor does. Thus the Christian Scriptures, and in fact all definite Christian concepts of any kind whatsoever become meaningless, because an unperson cannot communicate. Similarly, the idea of a relationship to God becomes absurd. In Chapter 5, "Worldly Holiness," prayer becomes more or less talking to oneself, in honesty indeed, but nonetheless to oneself.

The next-to-last chapter, "The New Morality," makes it clear that responsibility has likewise evanesced with the concept of the personal God of historic Christianity. It is not surprising that the consequences appear in today's world; what is surprising is that they appear in a book by a bishop under the guise of Christian teaching. In Robinson's sixth chapter, all morality becomes completely relative, a conclusion already anticipated by Hitler and the dialectical materialists. However, Hitler and the materialist Communist felt it necessary to challenge the Christian Church; perhaps if they had had

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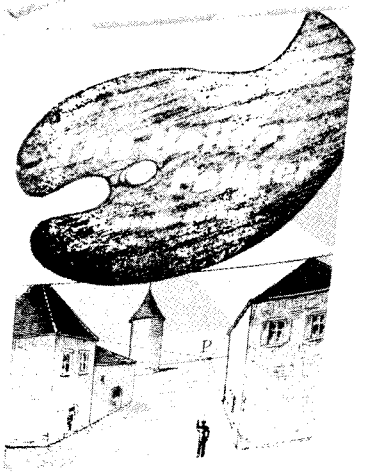

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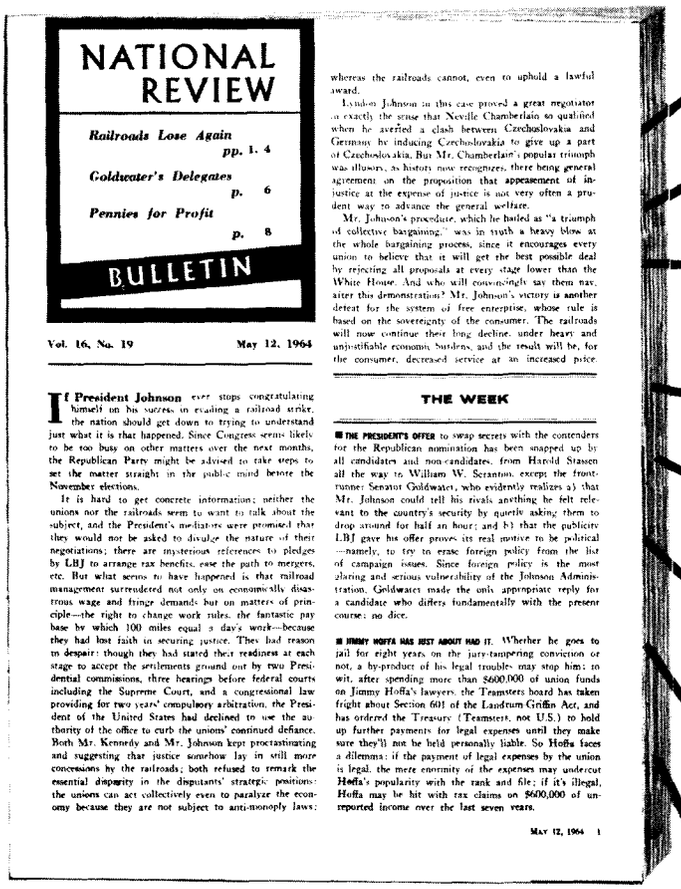

NATIONAL REVIEW

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BULLETIN

Vol. 16, No. 19 May 12, 1964

If President Johnson ever stops congratulating himself on his success in evading a railroad strike, the nation should get down to trying to understand just what it is that happened. Since Congress seems likely to be too busy on other matters over the next months, the Republican Party might be advised to take steps to set the matter straight in the public mind before the November elections.

It is hard to get concrete information; neither the unions nor the railroads seem to want to talk about the subject, and the President's mediators were promised that they would not be asked to divulge the nature of their negotiations; there are mysterious references to pledges by LBJ to arrange tax benefits, ease the path to mergers, etc. But what seems to have happened is that railroad management surrendered not only on economically disastrous wage and fringe demands but on matters of principle—the right to change work rules, the fantastic pay base by which 100 miles equal a day's work—because they had lost faith in securing justice. They had reason to despair: though they had stated their readiness at each stage to accept the settlements ground out by two Presidential commissions, three hearings before federal courts including the Supreme Court, and a congressional law providing for two years' compulsory arbitration, the President of the United States had declined to use the authority of the office to curb the unions' continued defiance. Both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson kept procrastinating and suggesting that justice somehow lay in still more concessions by the railroads; both refused to remark the essential disparity in the disputants' strategic positions: the unions can act collectively even to paralyze the economy because they are not subject to anti-monopoly laws; whereas the railroads cannot, even to uphold a lawful award.

Lyndon Johnson in this case proved a great negotiator in exactly the sense that Neville Chamberlain so qualified when he averted a clash between Czechoslovakia and Germany by inducing Czechoslovakia to give up a part of Czechoslovakia. But Mr. Chamberlain's popular triumph was illusory, as history now recognizes, there being general agreement on the proposition that appeasement of injustice at the expense of justice is not very often a prudent way to advance the general welfare.

Mr. Johnson's procedure, which he hailed as "a triumph of collective bargaining," was in truth a heavy blow at the whole bargaining process, since it encourages every union to believe that it will get the best possible deal by rejecting all proposals at every stage lower than the White House. And who will convincingly say them nay, after this demonstration? Mr. Johnson's victory is another defeat for the system of free enterprise, whose rule is based on the sovereignty of the consumer. The railroads will now continue their long decline, under heavy and unjustifiable economic burdens, and the result will be, for the consumer, decreased service at an increased price.

THE WEEK

■ THE PRESIDENT'S OFFER to swap secrets with the contenders for the Republican nomination has been snapped up by all candidates and non-candidates, from Harold Stassen all the way to William W. Scranton, except the front-runner Senator Goldwater, who evidently realizes a) that Mr. Johnson could tell his rivals anything he felt relevant to the country's security by quietly asking them to drop around for half an hour; and b) that the publicity LBJ gave his offer proves its real motive to be political —namely, to try to erase foreign policy from the list of campaign issues. Since foreign policy is the most glaring and serious vulnerability of the Johnson Administration, Goldwater made the only appropriate reply for a candidate who differs fundamentally with the present course: no dice.

■ JIMMY HOFFA HAS BEST ABOUT HAD IT. Whether he goes to jail for eight years on the jury-tampering conviction or not, a by-product of his legal troubles may stop him: to wit, after spending more than $600,000 of union funds on Jimmy Hoffa's lawyers, the Teamsters board has taken fright about Section 601 of the Landrum Griffin Act, and has ordered the Treasury (Teamsters, not U.S.) to hold up further payments for legal expenses until they make sure they'll not be held personally liable. So Hoffa faces a dilemma: if the payment of legal expenses by the union is legal, the mere enormity of the expenses may undercut Hoffa's popularity with the rank and file; if it's illegal, Hoffa may be hit with tax claims on $600,000 of unreported income over the last seven years.

MAY 12, 1964 1

1 *The Week:* a compact listing of the week's most significant news items—many "overlooked" in the nation's press;

2 *On The Left:* a regular report on what the Left is up to, including private reports from authoritative sources here and abroad;

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4 *What's Ahead:* a new feature that tells you what to look for in—and behind—current trends;

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8 *Business:* not a stock-market "dope-sheet," but a comprehensive and fascinating column of significant business and financial news that will interest the layman as much as the expert. Editor Richard Phalon specializes in analyzing business trends that will have widespread effects throughout the economy. (For example, his recent report showing that automation is causing many businesses to lower the retirement age was widely quoted in the press.)

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patience, they could have beheld it destroying itself. John A. T. Robinson's seductive words, "Man has come of age," bear a curious resemblance to those of the serpent in the Garden of Eden: "Ye shall be like gods. . . ."

Honest to God represents a serious Protestant attempt to realize Nietzsche's assertion, "God is dead. You have killed Him." Lest other Christians, notably Roman Catholics, too glibly rejoice that "I am not like other men, even as this publican," let it be pointed out that the theology of Tillich, Bultmann, *et al.*, roundly thrown out-of-doors by the Church of Rome when it came boldly knocking two or three decades ago, is now turning up in the oddest places . . . even at the Vatican Council. An orthodox creed and orthodox liturgy are no defense against the depersonalization of God, as Bishop Robinson of the Church of England demonstrates. On the local level, ambiguity is evident in Catholic thought: while the Harvard Catholic chaplains were cordial to Billy Graham, they will also be cordial to Robinson. Charity is commendable, but we also have St. John's admonition, "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine [*i.e.*, that Jesus Christ is the incarnate divinity, which John has just expounded] receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." (II John 10-11).

The ailment does not seem to be confined to Protestants (would that it were!), but one common to modern Western post- or sub-Christian civilization. There is no question but that the historic Christian faith does not have the hold on people that one might wish, nor does it appeal as readily as one might hope. But the solution is not to follow Robinson in demolishing the faith, so that there will be nothing to which twentieth-century man can object, but to recognize, with Professor Walter Thorson of MIT, that "If historic Christianity is in conflict with the twentieth century, something is wrong with the twentieth century."

The Causes of Boom and Bust

LOUIS M. SPADARO

IT IS HARDLY an exaggeration to say that, whatever the economy itself may have done, business-cycle theory has never recovered from the effects of the depression of the 1930s. The size and duration of the distortions and misery attending that upheaval were such as to produce a general and quite understandable resolve to prevent a recurrence at whatever cost.

That cost, however, has been huge —in addition to the explicit costs (expressible directly or ultimately in pecuniary terms and therefore well known) of programs and palliatives, there have been subtler costs whose increasing burden may prove even heavier than the more spectacular out-of-pocket costs.

Two aspects of this underlying type of cost particularly deserve attention: a) the surrender to urgency at the sacrifice of traditional values political, moral and personal, and b) the tendency in theorizing about business cycles to sacrifice consistency and generality on the altars of *ad hoc*

policies and political palatability. Both are finger-in-the-dike strategies that, in the long pull, run athwart the inexorable requirements of long-run justice and balance. The first relates to grander and deeper problems and will probably have to await the slow reawakening of national conscience and resolve; the second requires only the closer attention of students of economics to issues of the sort Rothbard raises in this book.

The crucial point in Rothbard's criticism of currently received cycle theory is that such theories are not integrated with the general economic

America's Great Depression, by Murray N. Rothbard. Van Nostrand, $8.95

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theory within which they are supposed to operate. Anyone who is inclined to doubt the cogency of this criticism has only to open almost any economics textbook to the section on business cycles to verify the fact that whatever is said there is not only not integrated with the rest of the analysis, but is often no more than an eclectic listing of alternative "theories" of the cycle which are not conjoined in any simple way among themselves. Indeed, in many cases the explanation of cyclical behavior is even seriously in conflict with important parts of the general analysis of economic behavior.

Probably the most unfortunate result of the inadequacy of these theories of the cycle has been the prevalent opinion that a free market economy inevitably tends to produce booms and busts of disastrous proportions unless it is curbed and managed in such a way as to frustrate its natural tendency. This conclusion has been an important ingredient in the general disenchantment with the free market economy on the part of most professional economists during the last generation. It is a conclusion it would be difficult to resist if it could be shown that up to the time of a downturn in economic activity what has been operating has been an unfettered free market economy and that it has broken down through internal stresses and imbalances of its own creation.

This is precisely what Rothbard sets about to disprove by a detailed examination of the events between the end of the first post-war recession in 1921 and the low point of the great depression in 1932. In the first of the three parts into which his discussion is divided, he sets out the main lines of his own theory of the cycle, which follows closely that of the Austrian school, especially as elaborated and refined by Professor Mises, although with a few minor modifications. This is followed by critical evaluation of the two standard types of objection which Keynesian analysis makes to the theory that business cycles are the inevitable result of credit expansion fostered for and by government. Other alternative explanations of the cycle are also subjected to analysis.

In the next section, Rothbard scrutinizes the period between 1921 and 1929, "the inflationary boom" period. He shows that it is little short of fantastic to represent it as one of unalloyed *laissez-faire*, since it was characterized by a persistent inflation of the money supply. It was this inflationary force that acted to undo the price-lowering effects of increasing productivity, which also marked this period. Yet those who are content, for one reason or another, to measure inflation merely on the basis of increases in the general level of prices, rather than increases in money supply, will miss (or dismiss) the basis of Rothbard's analysis unless they are willing to re-examine the usefulness and validity of their own definitions of inflation.

The effective supply of money, Rothbard maintains, should be defined much more broadly than the customary currency - *cum* - demand deposits; he suggests the addition not only of time-deposits (which have already begun to be included by an increasing number of economists) but also funds kept with savings-and-loan associations and with insurance companies—the latter to the extent of claims on the cash-surrender value of policies. For purposes of analysis, a classification of reserves in the member banks of the Federal Reserve System is set up according to whether they comprise factors of increase or

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of decrease and, within each of these categories, whether the item can be controlled by Federal Reserve or Treasury action or is "uncontrolled" (*i.e.*, subject to forces originating with the public). Against this framework, the forces helping to generate the inflation of the money stock in the years 1921-1929 emerge. He notes particularly the effects of foreign loans (especially to Great Britain) and of the pursuit of a stable level of prices.

The third and longest part of the book is devoted to a detailed account of the major Federal policies put into motion between the market crash of 1929 and 1933. This should be more than sufficient to put an end to the curiously persistent myth that the Hoover Administration allowed the depression to deepen by failing to take bold and positive action—a myth which has strengthened the case against free enterprise. Rothbard shows in detail that intervention by government during those years was both massive and many-sided, and that, except for magnitude, it left very little for the New Deal to initiate. The guilt for the Great Depression, Rothbard insists, properly lies with government intervention, whose inflationary effects generated the boom and bust in the first place; and then prolonged and aggravated it by further interference.

It is, of course, impossible to foretell whether or to what extent this book will cause re-examination of currently held views about the business cycle. It seems probable that Rothbard's concept of "government depreciation of the private sector"—an uncompromising and possibly over-stated position—will cause most to recoil. And even some libertarians may find it difficult to accept his advocacy of deliberate deflation of the money supply as a means of dealing with an inflation already under way. But it seems unlikely that anyone—friend or foe—will come away from this book with any illusions about the *laissez-faire* character of the decade before 1932.

Theater

Sweet Bells Jangled

GARRY WILLS

HAMLET is Shakespeare's greatest fool. He is, of course, only mad north-north-west, "mad in craft"; like Touchstone, he uses his folly as his stalking-horse, but he uses it well enough to confuse even Claudius, the shrewdest man in the play.

Richard Burton, in his New York performance of Hamlet, is a fine jester, but he does not seem to know when to put the antic disposition on, and when to take it off. He is, bewilderingly, mad south-south-east. He does not sing his fool's snatches merely to deceive others. He cracks jokes even when he is alone. He is probably the only actor who has *deliberately* got a laugh in the middle of the II.2 soliloquy ("What's HECK-CUBE-BAH to him . . .") Precisely when he should be speaking in his deepest character, he resorts to antics. The last appeal he issues to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, before closing up in their presence, before masking himself in motley, is delivered by a Burton standing on a cushioned chair, idly bouncing up and down on the balls of his feet as he babbles about "this majestical roof fretted with golden fire." And Burton's soliloquies are used as periods of rest, time out for relaxation, things said from the periphery of the character's awareness, not from its core.

Burton is probably right in rejecting the "tragedy of thought" interpretation which makes *only* the soliloquies matter. There are many soliloquies in Hamlet, as in Richard III, because the hero is playing an assumed role whenever he speaks to others, and the audience must see him, occasionally, as he really is. In one sense, Hamlet's cries that he must revenge himself are as simple in their purpose as Richard's repeated boasts that he will play the villain. Shakespeare's ability to use this technique has grown, but he is still fascinated with the dramatic possibilities of presenting an actor playing an actor. The trouble with Burton is that he dissolves both the jester's antics and the lonely outbursts in a general whimsicality which makes Hamlet not a tragic character playing a clown, but simply one too trivial to know how serious his situation is. (He juggles with Yorick's skull before flipping it back at the gravedigger.)

Burton has one excuse. From behind his jester's stalking-horse, he is not given much to stalk in this production. Hamlet, taking the true measure of his "uncle-father," says: 'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes / Between the pass and fell-incensed points / Of mighty opposites." But Alfred Drake, as the king, is no mighty opposite. He is more like the nervous chairman of a committee.

Claudius is one of Shakespeare's largest, subtlest designs, a man of sweeping gestures, deep quaffing, and pomp. When he speaks, the guns must bespeak his "earthly thunder." He has the courage to face down the populace that breaks in behind Laertes, silencing them with his supreme usurper's nerve, and with one of Shakespeare's finest lines: "There's such divinity doth hedge a king . . ." And under the bluff monarch is a Machiavel with poisons ready for his last design, the true plotter who moves behind the bumbling plots of Polonius. Yet beneath the carouser and the schemer there is the strangled cry, the perverse honesty, of the prayer scene: "May one be pardon'd and retain th' offence?"

No wonder Hamlet can deal so dexterously with the king's many agents—Polonius, Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, the Queen, Ophelia—yet hesitate to drive straight for the man. He is a man. At least he was till Alfred Drake turned his earthly thunder to cajolings. When Hamlet springs his play on this king, "The Mousetrap" catches—a mouse.

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But it must be admitted that even Drake has an excuse. It is hard to play a king in the ridiculous street clothes of the twentieth century, without crown or throne, tuckets or ord'nance. Here a greater reputation than Burton's is involved in the disaster. Gielgud directed the play, and must bear the responsibility for a totally untheatrical decision—to present the finished performance as if it were a rehearsal conducted without costume or props. This is not an attempt, like Tyrone Guthrie's flamboyant presentations of Shakespeare in modern or antebellum or Restoration costume, to rethink the play, giving an *interpretation*. The "rehearsal" device is simply a slovenly way of avoiding interpretation, a short cut—like Gielgud's recording of the ghost's voice—which makes it unnecessary for the actor-director to attend the play he is supposed to be in.

Worst of all, it is impossible to do the play without props (how fence without swords?) so that a series of unnecessary confusions arises. When people read letters onstage, they use props; but when Hamlet shows his mother "the counterfeit presentment of two brothers," he uses no lockets. And so, of course, one cannot know what interpretation Burton makes of the "Meet it is I set it down" passage. Are the tablets invisibly *there*, like the lockets, like the invisible wounds made by the very visible swords? Or is all this writing going on in Hamlet's "distracted globe"?

The defense offered for the rehearsal scheme is that it draws all one's attention to the words—a kind of caricature of Granville-Barker's overworked maxims. Logically, this would mean that a phonograph recording is better than a visible enactment. Then we would have no "distractions" indeed! And perhaps the phonograph is to be blamed for this prodigious waste of talent. I, for one, find it ominous that the voice of the ghost who drives Hamlet is machine-processed. The theater has been, *par excellence*, the place where poetry remained a living word, where ritual personal presence and enactment, the physical embodiment of meaning, the use of *all* men's languages, was still possible. Yet here were three great men of the theater (Hume Cronyn earns that title for his Polonius) dealing with the greatest man of the theater as if they were embalming the play in a cultural library.

And, sure enough, they *have* recorded it; perhaps that was what the New York performance was a "rehearsal" for.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE NAKED SOCIETY, by Vance Packard (McKay, $5.95). This voluminous but indiscriminate essay on the decline of personal privacy deserves to be read, and on both counts. The Packard system (jot everything down on note pads, then publish the note pads) has the virtue, at least, of bringing odd things to light such as (in this case) the surreptitious traffic in government dossiers, the proliferation of snooping devices, and the rotten practices of "psychological" testing from school to business office. But Packard, in his uncritical worship of the open society, overlooks two basic distinctions: 1) as to the source of the question, whether the asker merely asks or whether he has the power to compel a response—*i.e.*, whether it is an interview or an official interrogation; and 2) as to the object of the question, whether it is mere prurient snooping on law-abiding citizens or prudential investigation of presumptive malefactors—*i.e.*, whether it is for gossip or for G-2. My right to be let alone in my house does differ, absolutely, from the "right" of a Communist to shelter in the house he works to topple, and Vance Packard degrades an unusually provocative essay by failing to identify some of his characters (*e.g.*, Frank Donner) for what they really are. But the question is "up" now, thanks largely to Packard; let's hope his work will bring the Liberals to see that the omnicompetent state must claim our personal privacy as one of its first victims. W. F. RICKENBACKER

SUICIDE OF A NATION, edited by Arthur Koestler (Macmillan, $4.95). This is a hard-cover reprint of the July, 1963 issue of *Encounter*, being the papers of eighteen English writers concerned with the fate of England. But only in the title is there a suggestion that national suicide (let alone national murder) is even a possibility. The writers are aware that the British Empire was once a great power, built and preserved by military strength, economic power, scientific excellence, and by similar unpopular developments (as all of them were at the time). However, the writers are now certain that their undemocratic past is ended and that England will hereafter be governed by the popular will—that is, by conscious popular approval of each act of government. This is correctly seen to mean welfare at home and pacifism abroad since these goals are both universally approved and are also the only ones that command the backing of the English élite. The last is a curious development, after two great wars whose only tangible British objective was the preservation of this empire that is now assumed to have been morally deplorable. If they were going to reach this conclusion, it is perhaps unfortunate that the English élite did not do so in 1914. L. R. BROWN

THE NEW ORPHEUS: *Essays Toward a Christian Poetic*, edited by Nathan A. Scott (Sheed and Ward, $7.50). This is a collection of essays that have appeared over the last three decades. Allen Tate, Elizabeth Sewall and Father Lynch on imagination, Eliot and Wimsatt on poetry and morals, Scott himself and Father Ong on the Modern Criticism —there is much sound work around the edges of the book's theme. But the essays that were to center this experiment in a theology of aesthetics are much too simple-minded. Dorothy Sayers seemed to think the way to build a Christian poetics is to caricature classical aesthetics; David Jones is insufferably "cute"; Denis de Rougement thinks that "beauty" is a non-Scriptural value (ignoring Revelation, the shining city, the constant bridal imagery and the fact that God created and *then* "saw that it was good"—good to *see*); Auden asserts that there is no poetry in the New Testament (ignoring the canticles in Luke, the opening of John, Revelation). With foundations like this, it is not necessary for the rains to fall, and the floods to come, and the winds to blow, and beat on the house—in that verse technique Auden seems not to have heard of—for the edifice to crumble.

G. WILLS

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 428)

out works, according to Luther, is as much of a possibility as the pope's conversion to the Evangelical Catholic (Lutheran) Church. If "the drive for charitable action slackened," this cannot in any way be blamed on Luther.

Second, the reference to "the puritanical spirit of the Reformation" must be clarified. Which Reformation? Lutheran, Calvinist, or Roman? The Calvinist or Protestant Reformation was certainly characterized by a "puritanical spirit," but this cannot be said of the Lutheran Reformation, which in its spirit was thoroughly Catholic.

Bronx, N.Y. FR. BROOKE WALKER, *Pastor*
Holy Comforter Lutheran Church

Back to Brazil

"Goulart's Legacy" by Robert Peter [May 5], seems to me to have missed the most important factor in the late overturn in Brazil. The revolt against Goulart's scheme to set up a totalitarian state, Vargas style—only this time with Communist instead of Nazi-Fascist backing—was essentially a revolt of the middle class. The military leaders in Brazil have more ties with the emerging middle class than they have with the great landowners or the great industrialists.

To my way of thinking this gives a new and hopeful cast to the situation there. I admit that generalizations of this sort are treacherous, particularly when applied to so huge and varied a country as Brazil; but I think we will be better able to understand events there if we keep this point in mind. At least in Minas, Guanabara and São Paulo and the smaller states to the south of them, the aspirations of the middle class towards a North American type of democracy are likely to pull more weight in the political tug of war than they ever have before in any South American country.

Baltimore, Md. JOHN DOS PASSOS

Back to the Transkei

In his recent report ["First Steps in the Transkei," Feb. 25], Thomas Molnar alleged that "when cornered" I admitted to him that the Progressive Party's guarantees against black domination are shaky; that I stated "emphatically" that "violence sooner or later is inevitable"; and that "we should try to channel it first."

My recollection of my conversation with Dr. Molnar is that I told him that in my view *white* domination rests on shaky foundations and that attempts to maintain it in the face of the African awakening must inevitably lead to violence. Therefore, while there is time, we (the whites) should make reasonable concessions and adjustments in order to avert violence. Dr. Molnar argued that concessions to black majorities in other parts of Africa had led to black domination. I pointed out that the Progressive Party policies include constitutional guarantees for the rights of minority groups, including the right of participation in government. I conceded that constitutions can be overthrown by violence, but stressed that this could happen only where the majority of the citizens felt themselves wronged by the constitution.

HELEN SUZMAN, M.P.

Cape Town, South Africa

A Reply

However carefully I scrutinize the two sentences of my text which refer to the conversation with Mrs. Helen Suzman, I cannot see the ground of her protest. The sense of what she told me was this: South Africa must try everything to avert the violence towards which it is now heading. The constitution and bill of rights proposed by her (Progressive) party may be uncertain guarantees that the black majority will respect the rights of minority races, yet the country must go through with the experience.

I did not point out in reply, as Mrs. Suzman writes, that concessions to black majorities in other parts of Africa had led to black domination, since those other parts had been colonies and their independence was not the result of earlier concession. What I did say was that the experience in the rest of Africa shows that multiracial societies, the kind the Progressive Party intends to create, are an impossibility because white supremacy is now being changed to black supremacy, more intolerant than the former. Mrs. Suzman is a highly intelligent woman and sees the precariousness of her party's position. If she now protests that I misquoted her, it may be that her own position within the party is ambiguous, too.

New York, N.Y. THOMAS MOLNAR

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (May 19)

MacArthur
ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

Once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there is no substitute for victory.

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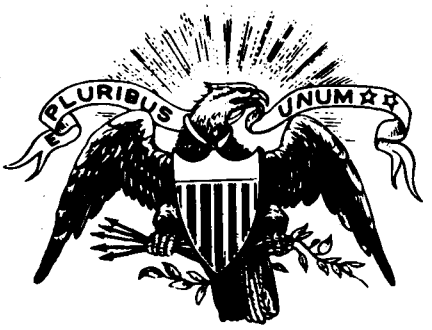
Patrick Henry's advice on the cold war . . .



They tell us, Sir, that we are weak — unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed? . . .

Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? . . .

Sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of Nations. . . . The battle, Sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. . . . There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! . . .

Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace! — but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! . . . Why stand we here idle? What is it that Gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

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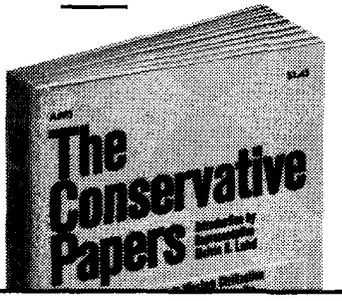

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

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B. Pertaining to rule by a handful	48 129 215 18 94 148 69 2 137 172
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E. Succeeded by Hirohito	59 112 6 102 17 160 96 103 141
F. One means of getting stiff in a joint	133 104 19 207 124 212 158 164 7 167
G. Quondam	147 70 78 195 99 8 204 185 50
H. An Egyptian dreamer	177 143 51 151 115 187 196
I. What Farouk wasn't	201 20 33 62 52 116 87 79 43 198 189
J. Agency concerned with commercial ethics (full name)	206 22 1 60 34 85 53 154 10 88 81 92 162 191 63 183 221 105 176 68
K. First at bat	4 130 184 40 173 83 113
L. Division of a baseball game	9 24 42 11 118 98
M. Ignominiously dismissed	21 168 82 107 54 139 35 152 25
N. A language, carpet, or hunting dog	23 142 145 26 127 12
O. A comic strip of a generation ago (by Hess & Carlson)	32 178 170 202 89
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U. A repository of words	101 146 46 213 29 64 126 31 222
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W. World Series pitcher who beat Walter Johnson and got 3 hits off him	188 181 209 165
X. Salt or ester of hydriodic acid	194 84 219 41 111 199
Y. Apostles (2 wds.)	197 211 190 72 193 210 15 138 220
Z. Convict (noun, slang)	169 57 218 119 128 100 49 131

See page 461 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.

1 J	2 B	3 C		4 K	5 D	6 E	7 F		8 G	9 L	10 J		11 L	12 N	13 P	14 Q
15 Y	16 C	17 E	18 B	19 F	20 I	21 M	22 J		23 N	24 L	25 M		26 N	27 S	28 A	29 U
30 D		31 U	32 O	33 I	34 J	35 M	36 P	37 Q	38 R	39 D	40 K	41 X	42 L	43 I		44 R
45 T	46 U		47 A	48 B	49 Z	50 G		51 H	52 I	53 J	54 M	55 R	56 S	57 Z	58 A	59 E
	60 J	61 D	62 I		63 J	64 U	65 T	66 V	67 A	68 J	69 B	70 G	71 D	72 Y	73 C	
74 S	75 T	76 A	77 Q	78 G	79 I	80 P	81 J	82 M		83 K	84 X	85 J		86 A	87 I	
88 J	89 O		90 A	91 Q	92 J	93 P	94 B	95 C	96 E	97 R	98 L		99 G	100Z	101U	102E
	103E	104F	105J		106V	107M	108P	109R	110C	111X		112E	113K		114D	115H
116I		117C	118L	119Z		120A	121Q	122R	123T	124F	125D	126U	127N	128Z	129B	130K
	131Z	132Q	133F	134A	135S	136T	137B	138Y	139M	140P		141E	142N		143H	144Q
145N	146U	147G	148B		149C	150V	151H	152M	153P	154J	155S	156T	157D	158F	159Q	
160E	161C	162J		163Q	164F	165W	166T		167F	168M	169Z		170Q	171R	172B	173K
174P	175S		176J		177H	178O	179S	180A	181W	182D	183J	184K	185G		186P	187H
188W	189I	190Y	191J	192A		193Y	194X	195G	196H		197Y	198I	199X		200R	201I
202O	203D	204G	205C		206J	207F	208C		209W	210Y		211Y	212F	213U		214Q
215B	216R		217S	218Z	219X	220Y	221J	222U								

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out, it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black squares indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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For The Record

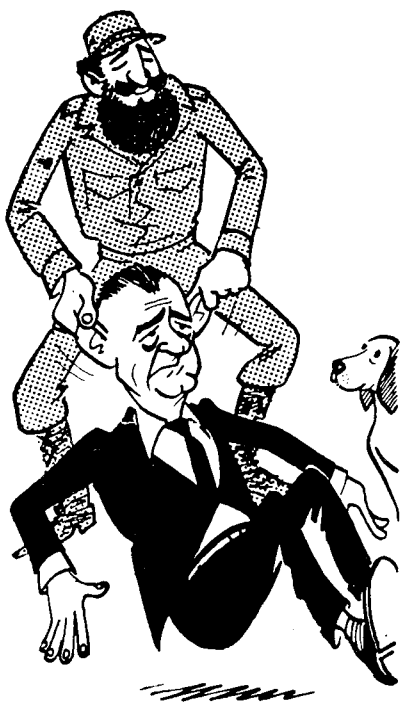
General Eisenhower's refusal to join the stop-Goldwater bloc has put damper on if-Barry-gets-it-I'll-get-out talk. Oregon's Liberal Republican Gov. Mark Hatfield, for one, now says he'll "support Sen. Goldwater if he is the nominee of my party even though I disagree with Sen. Goldwater." . . . Clare Boothe Luce (an occasional NR contributor) suggests in her weekly Herald-Tribune column one sure-fire way to get Bobby Kennedy the Veepship: a nominating speech for Bobby by Mass. convention delegate Jacqueline Kennedy. . . . Kennedy-for-Senator boomlet in New York looking better as things get worse in Laos. Averell (Let's Neutralize Laos) Harriman, another potential candidate, could be out of it now that his cure-all for Laos is turning sour.

Reports that East Germany will continue to give technical assistance to the united Republic of Tanganyika-Zanzibar raised doubts on whether the Communist threat has been wiped out. . . . Name changes on streets, public buildings in Zanzibar indicate the political coloration of the Zanzibar coupsters: Gizenga Street, Mao Tse-tung Stadium, etc. . . . Two British companies have signed $22 million contract to rebuild a 525-mile narrow gauge railroad (from Damascus in Syria to Medina in Saudi Arabia) which Lawrence of Arabia blew up half a century ago.

Protest against testimony by the Rev. Edwin Tuller, head of the National Council of Churches, opposing Becker amendment to permit prayer in the public schools is growing. A number of local parishes have pulled out of the NCC because of it; Dr. Daniel Poling of Christian Herald claims most Protestants favor the amendment.

Reports that Raul Castro's sister-in-law and her husband died in "double suicide pact" several weeks ago discounted by Miami Cuban refugees. They believe Rafael Rivero Pupo and his wife were purged. . . . Venezuelan authorities, who have been holding former Pres. Perez Jiménez for six months, announce he will be tried for alleged embezzlement in the near future.

Those Mississippi election laws which would have made it almost impossible for the Republican Party to operate in the state have been shelved. The Senate-passed bills were voted down in the Mississippi House last week. . . . In California, recent race riots and demonstrations producing a backlash. Late polls show sentiment in California against the "open housing" law is up from 41 to 48 per cent over last sampling. . . . Friends of Lt. Col. Glenn quietly raising money to pay off costs of senatorial campaign Glenn was prevented from making by his illness.



Jon—London Daily Mail—Ben Roth Agency

Notes from the past: Rachele Mussolini, widow of Il Duce, has just opened a restaurant in her home near Forli in Northern Italy. . . . Edda Goering, daughter of the Nazi field marshal, has been ordered by a German court to return to the city of Cologne the Cranach "Madonna and Child" which her father "ordered" Cologne to give her in 1938.

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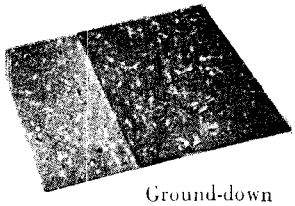

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